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John Arthur Bloom

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Abstract

The bulk of this thesis consists of a compilation of Akkadian and Sumerian primary source material which gives insight into the ancient concept of the assembly, especially those assemblies which were held on temple precincts.

References to the assembly of the gods are reviewed for insights about its place of meeting, protocol, and how humans related to it. The most common meeting place was the ubiu-ukkin-na, a decorated courtyard with seats for the gods into which only the highest civic leader could enter to make petitions. Assembly protocol reflects that of a king meeting with his advisors or subjects rather than a democratic peer-group: In the epic literature we see strong leadership in the divine assembly exhibited by An, Enlil or Marduk, with decisions being affirmed by oath after a consensus is reached. More significantly, it is not unusual for the leader to simply issue a decree and have it affirmed by the assembly without apparent discussion.

Further, we found that the divine assembly motif does not appear in the earliest versions of several major texts from differing genres. This suggests that the behavior of the divine assembly does not accurately reflect a prehistorical human assembly protocol, as is sometimes supposed.

The majority of surviving references to human assemblies meeting on the temple precinct involve legal disputes (oath-taking and cases involving temple material or personnel) and administrative functions (the kinistu governing board). From the lack of evidence, it appears that the public had very limited access to the temple or involvement in its ceremonies.

As the bulk of this research consisted of contextual word-studies, several valuable clarifications of meaning for puhrum and its synonyms were deduced.

Degree Type

Dissertation

Degree Name

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Keywords

assembly, divine, Akkadian, Sumerian, puhrum

Comments

Library at the Katz Center - Archives Thesis. DS72 .B655 1992

Ancient Near Eastern
Temple Assemblies:
A Survey and Prolegomena

by
John Arthur Bloom

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy



May, 1992
Annenberg Research Institute
420 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106

APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled

Ancient Near Eastern

Temple Assemblies:

A Survey and Prolegomena

by

John Arthur Bloom

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

Sal Cohen

Date May 22, 1992

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Ancient Near Eastern Temple Assemblies:
A Survey and Prolegomena

John Arthur Bloom, Ph.D., Ph.D.
Annenberg Research Institute, 1992

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References to the *assembly of the gods* are reviewed for insights about its place of meeting, protocol, and how humans related to it. The most common meeting place was the *ubšu-ukkin-na*, a decorated courtyard with seats for the gods into which only the highest civic leader could enter to make petitions. Assembly protocol reflects that of a king meeting with his advisors or subjects rather than a democratic peer-group: In the epic literature we see strong leadership in the divine assembly exhibited by An, Enlil or Marduk, with decisions being affirmed by oath after a consensus is reached. More significantly, it is not unusual for the leader to simply issue a decree and have it affirmed by the assembly without apparent discussion.

Further, we found that the divine assembly motif does not appear in the earliest versions of several major texts from differing genres. This suggests that the behavior of the divine assembly does not accurately reflect a *prehistorical* human assembly protocol, as is sometimes supposed.

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As the bulk of this research consisted of contextual word-studies, several valuable clarifications of meaning for *puḫrum* and its synonyms were deduced.

To:
My Parents,
William and Gladys Bloom;
My Advisor,
Dr. Sol Cohen;
My Wife,
Claudia Anne Bloom;
My Son,
David William Bloom;
My LORD,
The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;
And My Savior,
Christ Jesus.

"But what shall it profit a man if he gains
the whole world, and loses his soul?"

Acknowledgements

In turning to look back over the ten years that went into this work, it is difficult to summarize my gratitude and thanks for all who have contributed to the success of this effort. Certainly my wife Claudia deserves first mention, as she put up with my years of classes, studying, papers, commuting, and exams; always encouraging me and willing to make the necessary sacrifices with me. Next would be the Studenroth family and the members of the Bethany Bible Fellowship Church in Hatfield, PA. By sharing the church house together for over ten years we were able to afford to keep going to school. Without that generous symbiotic relationship it would have been impossible for me to continue on for a second doctorate. Direct financial assistance from the Brenner Fellowship and the Elsie Bohstedt Scholarship is also most gratefully acknowledged.

I wish to thank those who gave me the vision to seek this additional degree: Pastor Herman J. Eckelmann and the members and friends of The Faith Bible Church of Ithaca, NY. Their encouragement to train myself equally well in science and theology in order to handle the difficult problems that occur at that interface, as well as their prayers, kept me at the books. Even Sheila Billings' threats to come down and beat me with her broom if I ever gave up came in handy a time or two.

I am particularly grateful to those scholars who allowed me to use their sources and archives for collecting

my texts: Erle Leichty, Ake Sjöberg, and others at the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania went out of their way on every occasion to be of help to me. I carry with me as role models in my own academic career their examples of openness in sharing material and patience in dealing with endless absurd questions.

Certainly thanks is in order for my mentor and advisor, Sol Cohen, whose encouragement and textual insights helped shape and mold both this work and my thinking. I also want to acknowledge the other faculty and staff at Dropsie College, the Annenberg Research Institute, now the Center for Judaic Studies, especially those who rode the waves of transition with me and helped provide the continuity that my graduate program required.

I wish to thank the LORD for the many blessings which were essential for the success of this work. As in my first degree, the providences which led to my choice of Dropsie, my major, my advisor, my thesis topic, and many of the sources cited herein strain any theory of selective perception evoked by those who might be inclined to dismiss them as luck or chance. Finally, I am especially grateful for an eternal salvation from a fate truly worse than physical death, and that it, unlike anything else I have ever known, is one genuinely free gift which, although many people try, can never be bought.

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Chapter 1.

Introduction.

I. Overview.

Of the many questions that modern man asks of the past and seeks to answer with the fragmentary evidence that has chanced to survive to the present are those dealing with the origins of the social institutions that define and mold his modern civilization. How did governments and bureaucracy evolve, and particularly, to what does democracy trace its origins? How did religion evolve, and particularly, what precursors to Jewish or later Christian norms and rites are we aware of?

With the rise of modern Near-Eastern archaeology the contemporary scholar has the privilege of extending his search beyond the cultures of Greece and Rome. Written records from mature societies that existed thousands of years before the golden age of Athens have been recovered from the Near East and these provide us with glimpses of social institutions that bear a recognizable affinity to our own. In some cases we can tentatively trace protocols and customs through the shadows of myth and legend back to the era preceding the development of writing.

In these records we often find terms which refer to an *assembly*, Akkadian **puḫrum** and Sumerian **ukkin**¹ with its variant forms, that is, a group which meets for a specific

¹ Sometimes **puḫrum** appears in Sumerian texts as a borrowing.

purpose such as: to reach a consensus; to resolve a legal dispute; to worship or praise a god, and which serves as a foundational organ of collective action in ancient near eastern society. The significance of these assemblies in ancient government was first noted by Thorkild Jacobsen in his landmark papers.²

In studies and reviews of this issue which have followed to date, the focus has remained on the assembly's role in early government and its possible resemblance to democracy or similar forms of rule by the common people. However, we noticed that there are a number of texts which refer to an assembly *in a temple context* that does not bear on governing issues. We proposed that these texts might provide clues to the origin, not of democracy, but of modern congregational forms of worship. To the best of our knowledge, these scattered references have not been collected and evaluated on their own merits with this question in mind so as to determine if they indeed can shed any light on the origin of this cultic institution.

Our study of this question consists of the following steps: (1) the gathering of primary sources in which an assembly of any significant form occurred; (2) selecting those texts which refer to an assembly taking place in a

² *Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia*, JNES 2 (1943) pp. 159-172. *Early Political Development in Mesopotamia*, ZA 52 (1957) pp. 91-140. Both are reprinted in *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*, William L. Moran, editor. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

temple or divine context; (3) deducing the exact purpose of the temple/divine assembly in each context, be it judicial, administrative, or worshipful; (4) grouping these purposes to arrive at a range of assembly functions from which we can deduce the significance or role of assemblies as a part of the temple cult.

In order to add breath to this study, synonyms or terms with contextual relevance were also compiled and analyzed. From this range of word- and contextual-studies we were able to deduce the following: (1) the bulk of citations regarding human temple assemblies refer either to judicial or administrative boards; (2) there was no apparent intermingling of divine and human assemblies, in fact, divine assemblies took place in a temple area where only the king or chief ruler could venture; (3) there is no compelling evidence that any temple assemblies involved non-professional, non-temple-related personnel. From this it appears that the general population (including the middle class) had little role in either the governing or worship of the major state/city temples from which we have records. In short, the sources at our disposal did not permit us to verify our hypothesis regarding congregational worship in Ancient Near Eastern Temples.

II. Previous studies.

The earliest studies of the term *assembly* were done from legal and lexical viewpoints, seeking to establish the

role of this body and its composition from such texts as the Code of Hammurabi (CH)³. For example, A. Walther⁴ noted that **puhrum** is not synonymous with the elders, or "the city" itself, and debated whether in some contexts it had the sense of "public" (CH 5, CH 202). When a legal **puhrum** occurred in association with a temple, it was for the purpose of giving oaths; in these cases **puhrum** members were not necessarily temple officials (CT IV 1a 2).

As noted above, Jacobsen⁵ raised the discussion of *assembly* to a new plane by speculating regarding its role in the evolution of government. Drawing from myth and epic, which depicted the gods ruling themselves and the affairs of men through the vehicle of assemblies, Jacobsen proposed that, because men fabricate in divine interactions a reflection of themselves and their culture, the divine assemblies were indicative of prehistoric/preliterate human governing assemblies in Mesopotamia. Although their function and importance were supplanted by the "strong man" rulership of kings in later historical periods, Jacobsen suggested that the ancient human assemblies resembled a primitive democracy, not an autocracy. In a later paper,⁶

³ Unless otherwise noted, all abbreviations follow those in the **Chicago Assyrian Dictionary**.

⁴ **Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen**, pp. 45-52. **Leipziger semitistische Studien 6/IV-VI**: Leipzig, 1917.

⁵ *Primitive Democracy*, **JNES 2** (1943) pp. 159-172 and **Toward the Image of Tammuz** pp. 157-170.

⁶ *Early Political Development*, **ZA 52** (1957) pp. 91-140 and **Toward the Image of Tammuz** pp. 132-156.

Jacobsen buttressed his view of Mesopotamian political development during the pre-Sargonic period by tracing in literary texts a shift from simple assemblies operating by consensus to kingship maintained by armed force.

Following these two works, some general discussions appeared in the literature. Wolf⁷ researched early Hebrew culture and delineated the functions of political assemblies into four areas: (1) Representative [when the population is too large or wide-spread for all to be present]. (2) Judicial [handling lawsuits and legal matters]. (3) Legislative [making decisions for war and peace]. (4) Executive [punishing criminals]. E. A. Speiser⁸ published a helpful general overview of the relation of the king, law codes, religion, and the assembly to Mesopotamian law. Geoffrey Evans⁹ studied the assemblies of Uruk and Kaniš and noted a two-tiered structure in them, where one tier was a small group of elders and second was comprised of the rest of the [free] men [of the city/region]. Within this context he discusses the rise of kingship, internal/external pressures on democracy, and special-interest groups within

⁷ *Traces of Primitive Democracy in Ancient Israel*, JNES 6 (1947) pp. 98-108.

⁸ *Authority and Law in Mesopotamia*, in *Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient*. J. A. Wilson, et al., editors. JAOS Supplement 17 (1954).

⁹ *Ancient Mesopotamian Assemblies*, JAOS 78 (1958) pp. 1-11.

the assembly. Malamat¹⁰ compared the assemblies of the *Gilgamesh* and *Agga* epic with those called by King Rehoboam at the division of the Israelite kingdom. Jacobsen¹¹ published a tablet recording a murder trial held by the Nippur assembly which gives insights into the interrelation of the king, law codes, legal proceedings and rulings of the assembly, including execution of the verdict.

A serious challenge was presented to Jacobsen's model by Nel Bailkey,¹² who traced the political history of Mesopotamia and compared it to the Greek stages of monarchy, oligarchy, tyranny, and democracy. Bailkey noted that our certainty about Mesopotamian political models was adversely influenced by chance discoveries and gaps in the historical data. Moreover, he noted a tension between oligarchy and monarchy in the assembly and proposed that this was the reason why "true" democracy never developed in Mesopotamia as it did in Greece.

Mullen studied the notion of governing assemblies in neighboring contemporary cultures to Mesopotamia¹³ and

¹⁰ Abraham Malamat, *Kingship and Council in Israel and Sumer: A Parallel*, JNES 22 (1963), pp. 247-253.

¹¹ *An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide*, *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* III, *Analecta Biblica et Orientalia* XII (Rome: 1959) pp. 130-150. Reprinted in *Toward the Image of Tammuz* pp. 193-214.

¹² *Early Mesopotamian Constitutional Development*, *The American Historical Review* 72 (1967) pp. 1211-36.

¹³ E. Theodore Mullen, Jr., *The assembly of the gods: The divine council in Canaanite and early Hebrew literature*, Harvard semitic monographs 24 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980).

concluded that assemblies in (Ugaritic) Canaan and early Israel were non-democratic and merely functioned as sounding-boards for the decrees of its leader. Unlike Jacobsen's Mesopotamian model, no consensus was sought; the role of the assembly members was simply to carry out the decrees of the leader.

A recent work by Hanoch Reviv¹⁴ offers an extensive and up-to-date bibliography but does not touch on our interests, other than providing a convenient summary of major texts which refer to elders in Mari and elsewhere in Mesopotamia.

As can be seen, past work on the Mesopotamian *assembly* has emphasized the political/legal assembly and has not broached the issue of ritual/cultic temple assemblies (one exception to this is the *kiništu-keneset* proposal of Moshe Weinfield, which will be reviewed at length later). It was the purpose of this research to attempt to fill in this gap, should sources permit.

¹⁴ **The Elders in Ancient Israel**, translated by Lucy Plitmann (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989). Reviewed by Leslie Hoppe, *JBL* 110 (1991), pp. 132-4.

Chapter 2.

Puḫrum-relevant literature by genre:

Primary Sumerian textual sources.

1. Sumerian.

1.1 Myth and Epic.

1.1.1 The Gilgamesh Cycle.

1.1.1.1 Gilgamesh and Agga.

- 1) **lú-kin-gi₄-a-ag-ga-dumu-en-me-bara-gi₄-e-si-ke₄**

The envoys of Agga, the son of Enmebaragesi

- 2) **kiši^{ki}-ta ^dgilgameš-ra unu^{ki}-šè mu-un-ši-súg-eš**

Proceeded from Kish to Gilgamesh in Erech.

- 3) **^dgilgameš igi-ab-ba-uru-na-ka**

Gilgamesh before the elders of his city

- 4) **inim ba-an-gar inim i-kin-kin-e**

Put the matter, seeks out the word:

- 5-7) (Corvée work is described)

- 8) **é-kiši^{ki}-šè gú nam-ba-gá-gá-an-dè-en ^{giš}tukul ga-àm-**

ma¹-sìg-gi-en-dè-en

"... Let us not submit to the house of Kish, let us
smite it with weapons."

Römer: "... Will we subject ourselves to the house of
Kish? Should we not [rather] smite it with
weapons?"

¹ Römer notes the majority of texts read **nam-ba-an-** instead of this prefix. This results in a subtle, but significant alternate translation of the text, as noted.

- 9) ukkin-gar-ra-ab-ba-uru-na-ka

The convened assembly of the elders of his city

- 10) ⁴gilgameš-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄,

Answers Gilgamesh in it:²

- 14) é-kiš^{ki}i-šè gú ga-àm-gá-gá-an-dè-en ^{giš}tukul nam-ba-sìg-ge-en-dè-en

"... Let us submit to the house of Kish, let us not smite it with weapons."

Römer: "... Will we subject ourselves to the house of Kish? Should we not [rather] smite it with weapons!"

- 15) ⁴gilgameš en-kul-aba^{ki}-a-ke₄,

Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,

- 16) ⁴inanna-ra nir-gál-la-e

Who performs heroic deeds for the goddess Inanna,

- 17) inim-ab-ba-uru-na-ke₄ šà-šè nu-um-gíd

Took not the words of the elders of his city.

- 18) 2-kam-ma-šè ⁴gilgameš en-kul-aba^{ki}-a-ke₄,

A second time Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,

- 19) igi-guruš-uru-na-ke₄ inim ba-an-gar inim ì-kin-kin-e

Before the fighting men of his city put the matter, seeks out the word:

- 23) é-kiš^{ki}i-šè gú nam-ba-an-gar-re-en-zé-en ^{giš}tukul ga-àm-ma²-sìg-gi-en-dè-en

"... Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite

² The indirect object refers either to "in the assembly" or "regarding the question at hand."

it with weapons."

Römer: "... Will we subject ourselves to the house of Kish? Should we not [rather] smite it with weapons?"

- 24) ukkin-gar-ra-guruš-uru^{ki}-na-ka ^dgilgameš mu-un-na-ni-
ib-gi₄-gi₄

The convened assembly of the fighting men of his city
answer Gilgamesh:

- 25) gub-gub-bu-dè tuš-tuš-ù-dè³

"To continually stand at attention, to continually be
assigned to a post.

- 26) dumu-lugal-la da-ri-e-dè

To go with the king's son,

- 27) háš anše dab₅-dab₅-bé-dè

To continually urge on the donkey,

- 28) a-ba zi-bi mu-un-tuku-e-še

Who has wind (enough) for that?

- 29) é-kiš^{ki}-šè gú nam-ba-an-gar-re-en-zé-en ^{giš}tukul ga-
àm-ma²-sìg-gi-en-dè-en

'Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it
with weapons!'"

Römer: "... You should not subject yourselves to the
house of Kish, should we not [rather] smite it
with weapons!"

³ The translation of this and the next three lines follow the suggestions of Jacobsen, *AJA* 53 (1949), p. 17, and describe the military service into which the young men would be pressed if Uruk subjects itself to Agga.

40) u₄-ba ^dgilgameš en-kul-aba^{ki}-ke₄

... Then Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,

41) in[im]-guruš-uru-na-šè šà-ga-ni an-ḫúl ḫar-ra-ni
ba-an-zalag

At the word of the fighting men of his city his heart
rejoiced, his spirit brightened.

In Kramer's translation, Gilgamesh first approaches the elders of the city, seeking their approval to rebel against Agga. When they refuse, he goes over their heads directly to the fighting men, and wins their approval. With the consent of the men who will actually risk their lives to support him, he can then revolt.

Römer's translation puts a different emphasis on the dual assembly: Gilgamesh first approaches the elders of the city, seeking their approval to rebel against Agga. They approve, but Gilgamesh is not comfortable with only their support, so he also goes to the fighting men to win their approval. Since they do not want to be stuck with military service any more than the old men want to be subjected to agricultural corvée service, they approve Gilgamesh's revolt. With the approval of both parties, Gilgamesh can then revolt.

Sources: Kramer, S. N. *Gilgamesh and Agga*. *American Journal of Archaeology* 53 (1949) pp. 1-18 and Willem H. Ph. Römer, *Das sumerische Kurzepos 'Bilgameš und Akka'*, *AOAT* 209/1 (1980). Kramer's translation also appears in *ANET* pp. 44-47, in *The Sumerians*, p. 186ff, and in *From the Tablets of Sumer*, p. 26ff. Note that the title appears in a Sumerian literary catalog from 2,000 B.C. (Kramer, *BASOR* 88,

p. 15). An important review of this work by A. Falkenstein is found in *Afo* 21, p. 47ff. Important reviews of Römer's work (with corrections and suggestions on interpretation) are J. S. Cooper, *JCS* 33 (1981) pp. 224-241, W. Heimpel, *JCS* 33 (1981) pp. 242-3, P. Michalowski, *BSOAS* 45 (1982), pp. 577-8. Jacobsen comments on the text in *Early Political Development*, n. 53 and following text. It is also noted in Kramer and Bernhardt, *Sumerische literarische Texte aus Nippur, Band 1* (Berlin: 1961), n. 5-6. Jacob Klein, *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 201-4 translates and discusses lines 70-99. Dina Katz uses a literary-critical methodology to dispute the historicity of the *guruš* assembly in *RA* 81 (1987) pp. 105-114; now see also Dina Katz, *Gilgamesh and Akka* (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1993).

1.1.1.2 Gilgamesh and Huwawa.

The Sumerian version is of note because it does not mention the council of elders of Uruk (Kramer, *JAOS* 64, p. 15), yet the Akkadian version does (see below). In the closest parallel Sumerian section, Gilgamesh recruits fifty single males who have no dependents to accompany him, but does not seek or receive either advice or farewell from any elders or other gathering. While the assembly is surely a pre-historic institution, the addition of assembly scenes in later recensions probably shows that the powers and scope of assemblies broadened over time, so that editors embellished the epics with assembly protocols at points where their contemporary culture dictated their need.

Kramer discusses the literary significance of the text in *The Epic of Gilgamesh and its Sumerian Sources: A Study in Literary Evolution*, *JAOS* 64 (1954) pp. 7-23, 83. Several important articles on this epic appear in Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa legende* (Paris: 1960), but they do not touch on the

assembly issue because they concentrate on the Sumerian version.

Sources: Originally published as *Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living* by Kramer in *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 3ff. Another text version was published by van Dijk, *Texte cuneiforms a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae* 2 (Leiden: 1957), n. 4. Most recently, see Edzard, *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 165-203. In English translation and notes, see Maureen Gallery Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989). Other fragments are: *BE* 31, 31 cf. *JAOS* 60, p. 245 fn. 36. Also *PRAK* I 174; Ki 155 in *JRAS* 62, p. 914ff; *SEM* 23, 27, 30, 31 and *STVC* 88. See also Kramer and Bernhardt, *SLTN* 3, n. 12.

1.1.2 Sumerian Flood Story (CBS 10673 + 10867) OB, Nippur.

Enki discloses to Ziusdura the "word of the assembly" to destroy mankind:

- 155) **na-de₅-ga-mu gizz[al h_é-im-ši-ak]**
[Pay atten]tion to my instructions:
- 156) **DAG?-me-a a-ma-ru ugu-KAB-d[ug₄-ga ..] ba-ù[r ...]**
On all dwellings(?), over the capitals the storm will [sweep].
- 157) **numun-nam-lú-u_x ha-lam-e {x}[.]**
The destruction of the descent of mankind [. . .],
- 158) **di-til-la inim pu-úh-ru-[um]**
The final sentence, the word of the assembly,
- 159) **inim-dug₄⁴-ga an ⁴en-[líl ⁴nin-_hur-sag-gá-ke₄]**
The word spoken by An and En[lil and Ninhursag],
- 160) **nam-lugal-bi bal-bi {x}[.]**
The overthrowing of the kingship [.]

Note: Refers to the command to destroy mankind as "the verdict, the command of the assembly of the gods" in literary parallel with "the directive of An and Enlil."

⁴ The signs here also can be read as **du₁₁-du₁₁**.

Source: M. Civil *apud* Lambert and Millard, *The Atra-Hasis Epic*, p. 143, l. 158. *UMBS V* 1 IV, cited in Adam Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden I* (Munich, 1956), p. 10 fn 3; and in Jacobsen, *JNES II* pp. 169, 171. For more recent discussion, see Jacobsen *JBL* 100 (1981), p. 513-29 tempered by Kramer *AnSt* 33 (1983), p. 115-121.

1.1.3 The Myth of Zu.

Beginning in Tablet II, line 6 in the OB version, we have an assembly of the Igigi.

Context: The Anzu bird has stolen the tablets of destiny.

- 3) **ú-te-eš-ši kúl-la-at ka-li-šu-nu i-gi-gi**
The Igigi in their entirety were confused,
- 4) **ki-iš-šú iš-ta-ḫa-aṭ na-mu-ur-ra-as-sú**
the sanctuary divested itself of its halo,
- 5) **i-lu ma-tim ip-ta-na-aḫ-ḫu-ru a-na ṭe-mi-im**
the gods of the land assembled together for direction,
- 6) **‘A-nu-um pa-šu i-pu-ša-am**
Anu opened his mouth,
- 7) **is-sà-aq-qá-ra-am a-na i-li ma-ri-šu**
he spoke to the gods his sons

Anu is seeking someone to go and slay Anzu and retrieve the tablets. Several gods are asked, but they decline.

- 29) **ip-p[a]-aš-ḫu-ma [x x x x]-ú i-lu mi-il-kam**
the gods calmed down and [exchanged] advice,
- 30) **pa-aḫ-ru i-gi-gu i[(?)-lu gi-i]m (?) -ru da-al-ḫu-ma**
the gods assembled troubled,
- 31) **be-el uz-nim a-ši-ib ZU + AB [x x ú-še-]et-bu-šum**
the lord of wisdom, the dweller of the Deep (Ea), they
[made] rise up to him,⁵

⁵ Note the probable pun here: Ea is both called up from the deep, and probably made to stand to address Anu and the assembly.

- 32) a-wa-at li-ib-bi-šu [x x x a-na a-b]i-šu is-sà-qar-šum
the thought of his heart [] he spoke to his father,
- 33) ú-ud-di mi-qí-z[u x x x] 4zi-im lu-we-di i-na pu-uḫ-ri
I have decided upon [hi]s downfall [the vanquisher] of
Zū I will make known in the assembly.
- 34) iš-mu-ú i-l[u ma-tim an-ni-a-am q]á-ba-a-šu
(When) the go[ds of the land] heard [these] his words,
- 35) [x x x i]t (?) -ru-[ru-ma iš-ši-qú] ši-pí-šu
[they and kissed] his feet.
- 36) [x x x š]a (?) 4MAḪ N[I]N [ú]-šú-r[a-t]i šu-ur-bu-za
i-ta-wu i-na pu-uḫ-ri
[] the pre-eminence of Mah, mistress of planning, he
(Ea) proclaimed in the assembly.
- 37) [x x x x] ga-aš-ra-am šu-pa-am na-ra-am-ki
["Call] the potent, the resplendent, your beloved,
- 38) [ra]-ap-ša-am i-ir-tim mu-ta-ab-bi-lu si-bi-tam qá-ab-li
the wide-chested, who leads the Seven to combat at
once,
- 39) 4N[IN.G]ÍR.SU ga-aš-ra-am š[u-pa-a]m na-ra-am-ki
Ningirsu, the potent, the resplendent, your beloved,
- 40) [r]a-ap-ša-am i-ir-tim m[u]-ta-ab-bi-lu si-bi-tam
qá-ab-li
the wide-chested, who leads the Seven to combat."
- 41) [iš-m]é (?) -e-ma an-ni-a-am qá-ba-šu šu-ur-bu-tum
4MAḪ an-nam i-pu-uš
(When) pre-eminent Mah heard these his words, she agreed,
- 42) [a-n]a i-pi-iš pi-ša iḫ-du i-lu ma-tim it-ru-ru-ma
iš-ši-qú ši-pí-ša (?)
at her words the gods of the land rejoiced, excited,
they kissed her feet,
- 43) iš-si-i-ma i-na pu-uḫ-ri-im š[a (?)] i-li
she summoned in the assembly of the gods
- 44) ma-ra-ša na-ra-am li-ib-bi-ša ú-wa-e-er-šu is-sà-
qar-šum
her son, the beloved of her heart, she instructed him,
she says to him:

- 45) **ma-ḥ[a]r a-nim ù 'Da.gan.[a-n]a ti-lu-tim**
 "Before Anu and Dagan, to help
- 46) **w[a(?)-a]r(?)-ka-at pa-ar-ši-šu-nu i-ta-wu-ú i-na**
pu-uḥ-ri
 after(?) they proclaimed their regulations⁶ in the
 assembly,
- 47) **[I-gi]-gi-mi kúl-la-at-zu-nu ú-wa-al-li-id**
 I gave birth to all of the Igigi.

Significance: The text is quite fragmentary. Mah, a female, plays a major role in the assembly. The Igigi are referred to via the generic term "gods of the land," which implies there is an unspecified, but large number of gods in the divine assembly (cf. "people of the land"). Note also the "kissing of feet" in praise.

Source: B. Hruška, *Der Mythenadler Anzu in Literatur und Vorstellung des alten Mesopotamien* (Budapest, 1975). Sumerian version: UET 6, n. 2; AASOR 23 (1943-4), n. 41; and Civil, RA 60 (1966), p. 92. OB version: Jean Nougayrol, RA 46 (1952) *Ningirsu vainqueur de Zû*, pp. 87-97; ANET pp. 111-2, 514-17. Text in Ebeling, RA 35 (1938), p. 14ff; RA 46 (1952), pp. 25-41 and LKA 1. Assyrian version: CT 15 (1902), pp. 39-40 with K 3454+. Fragments of the text occur in CT 46, n. 36-42. Compare Reiner, RA 48 (1954), p. 145ff and RA 51 (1957), p. 107ff. Lambert AfO 18, p. 401 and STT 1, 19, 21-22. See also Gadd, Iraq 28, p. 119f.

1.1.4 Lugalbanda Epic.

- 225) ^{kuš}**E.ÍB-ùr-ra ki-ús-sa igi-tab-unken-na**

[Describing Utu:] He is the firmly founded siege-
 shield, the 'blinker' of the assembly,

⁶ Cf. CAD A2 s.v. **amû** A 3 b 2', and Landsberger, AfO 2 (1924), p. 67.

226) ^{kuš}E.ÍB-ùr-ra é-nì-ga-ta è igi-tab-guruš-a

He is the one who brings forth the siege-shield from
the magazine, the 'blinker' of the young warriors.

.....

290) unken-gar-ra-si-sá-a-na

In his convened and just⁷ assembly,

291) šà-é-gal-la kur-gal-gim ki hé-ús-a-ba

in the heart of the great quarters, which resting
firmly upon the earth like a great mountain, as it is
indeed,

292) en-me-er-kár dumu-⁴utu-ke₄

Enmerkar, the son of Utu

293) eme-sig-⁴inanna ba-ni-in-kú

slandered Inanna:" (quote follows).⁸

Source: Wilcke, *The Lugalbanda Epic*. See discussion of lines 225-6 by Eichler, *JAOS* 103.1 (1983), p. 97ff. S. J. Lieberman notes this text and the connection between assemblies and mountains in *Nippur: City of Decision in Nippur at the Centennial*, ed. Maria deJong Ellis (1992), pp. 131-132.

1.1.5 Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna.

114) kin-gi₄-a en-me-er-kár en-suḫ-kešda-an-na-ke₄

The messenger of Enmerkar to Ensuhkešdanna,

⁷ Sol Cohen disagrees with Wilcke's translation of si-sá-a-na as the verbal form "as he stepped up". The form is an adjectival, not verbal construction (the verb is ba-ni-in-kú in line 293), qualifying the nature of the assembly. Compare the parallel puḫur šakna in CAD S p.216, s.v. šitu in bilingual section.

⁸ eme-sig(-ga) = karšu. kú = akālu = "to feed" (with -ni-), "to denounce" CAD akālu 7d.

- 115) **gi₆-par_x-kù ki-kù-kù-ga-ni-šè**
 To his holy *gipar*, his very holy place,
- 116) **ki-kù-kù-ga ba-da-an-TUŠ-a DAGAL(?) -bi ba-na-te**
 To the very holy place where he was in session, he
 approached him,
- 117) **en-suḥ-kešda-an-na-ke₄ á-ág-gá gù ba-an-dé inim**
im-kin-kin-e
 Ensuhkešdanna asked for advice; searched for an answer.
- 118) **išib lú-maḥ guḍu₄ girsiga gi₆-par_x-ra til-la**
 The *išib*, *lú-maḥ*, *guḍu₄*, and *girsiga*-attendants who
 dwell in the *gipar*
- 119) **gú x mu-ni-in-gar šà mu-da-ad-kúš-ù**
 Gathered together and took counsel.
- 120) **a-na ga-an-na-ab-bé a-na ga-an-na-ad-dé**
 "What shall I say to him? What shall I say to him?
 (quotation continues)
- 128) **unken-gar-ra-si-sá-na mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄**
 The convened and just⁹ assembly answered him in it:¹⁰
- 129) **za-e-me-en unu-ki-ga-šè dub-sag-ta**
 "You precede (the lord of) Uruk.
 (quotation continues)

Note that Enmerkar goes to the temple for advise, and the temple attendants (probably in the name of the god) provide it. The wording of line 119 parallels Lugalbanda 290 and is probably an idiom.

Source: Adele Berlin, **OPBF 2**, (1979).

⁹ See note on this construction in Lugalbanda line 290 above.

¹⁰ See note on this construction in Gilgamesh and Agga, line 10 above.

1.1.6 Enki and the World Order.

17) [u₄] šid-e iti é-ba ku₄-ku₄ mu šu-du₇-du₇-da

... you entered the house in order to make perfect the name.

18) mu šu-du₇ ukkin-e eš-bar sum-mu-da

in order to make perfect the name, the assembly gave the decision (purussû)

19) eš-bar kin u₄-da si sá-e-da

so that the decision, the report (šipru) daily is prepared (to make straight, to put in order).

341) gu mu-un-gar uš-e si bí-in-sá

He fixed the (measuring)-cord, ordered the foundations,

342) á-ukkin-na-ka é bí-in-gar šu-luḥ-e si bí-in-sá

He erected a house at the side of the assembly, ordered the purification rites,

Source: Carlos A. Benito (1969) thesis; Green manuscript, U. Mus. files.

1.1.7 Nungal in the Ekur.

28) ^dnun-gal bára-gal-maḥ-bi-a zà-ge mu-un-di-ni-ib-si

Nungal has taken her seat in its great and lofty bára¹¹

¹¹ Jin Sup Kim, in his Ph.D. thesis *BARAG in Sumerian Literature: A Study of Historical Semantics with Emphasis on its Referent and Cultural Function* (Annenberg Research Institute, 1991), argues that **parakku** is better translated as *adytum* (from the Greek, meaning "not to be entered"), i.e., the innermost room of a temple or shrine. Previous work has usually rendered **parakku** as a "dais," or "smaller structures upon which a throne could be placed to lift the seat of the king (or deity) above the level of its

- 29) **é-a mùš-bé dūr im-mi-in-gar kalam im-ta-ge-né**
 She sits in the house on its..., she strengthens the
 land,
- 30) **lugal-ra šà-unken-na-ka igi mu-na-ni-gál**
 She has set her eye upon the king in the midst of the
 assembly,
- 31) **erím-gál-la-ni giš-rab_x(LUGAL) mi-ni-ge-né en-nu-un-
 gá-ni nu-til-e**
 She clamps down upon his evil (enemy), she does not
 cease to imprison (the evil),

Notes: "In the heart/midst of the assembly" refers to the
 position of the king in the assembly (at its center).

Source: Sjöberg, **Afo 24** (1973), p. 30.

1.1.8 Gudea inscriptions.

1.1.8.1 Gudea Statue B.

3,1) **zi-ša(g)-gál-la šu-dagal-dug₄-ga**
 Abundantly supplied with the life-breath

3,2) **Šul-ša(g)-ga-ka-ge**
 of Šulšagga,

3,3) **sag-zi(g) ukkin-na PA-è-a**
 which at first among the multitude (**ukkin-na**) had
 manifested

surroundings." (CAD D p. 166).

3,4) ⁴nin-giš-zi(d)-da

Ningiřzida

Use of **ukkin** in Neo-Sumerian to mean "multitude" or "crowd" in the general sense of "all humanity" (Thureau-Dangin translates as *der Menge* (*der Menschen*)).

Source: **SAK**, Thureau-Dangin, 1907 = **VAB I**.

1.1.8.2 Gudea Statue C. *1.1.8.2.1*

In curse formula at end of inscription:

9/10) ⁴inanna / nin-kur-kur-ra-ke,

Inanna, the lady of all the lands,

11/12) sag-gá-ni ukkin-na / nam hé-ma-ku₅-e

may she curse his head in the assembly!

13/14/15) ⁹gu-za-gub-ba-na / suhuř-bi / na-an-gi-né

may she not make firm the foundation of his
established throne

16/17) numun-a-ni hé-til / ba-{a}-ni {hé-ku₅}

May his seed perish! May his reign be cut off!

In the context a king, not a common man, is in mind ("may his reign be cut off!" etc.)

Source: Steible, **NBW**; U. Mus. files.

1.2 Legal/administrative.

1.2.1 Adultery trial.

12/13) ugu.lú.ka in.đab, / su.lú.ka giš.ná.a

he caught her upon a man / on the body of the man, on
the bed

14/15) in.keš / pu.úḫ.ru.um.šè in.íl

he tied her / (and) carried (them) to the assembly.

16/17) pu.úḫ.ru.um.e / mu lú ugu.na

The assembly, because with a man upon her (*sic*)

18/19) al.đab,.ba.aš / kù.đam.tak,.ni []

she was caught, his/her divorce money

20/21) i.ni.in.gar.r[e.eš] / {kisi,.ni?} [mu]nsub.bar!.ra¹²

(they) decided; her pudendum

22/23) um[bi]n in.tar.ru.ne / kiri,(KA).ni ^{giš}kak.si.sá

in.bùru.uš

they shaved; they bored her nose with an arrow

24/25) uru^{ki} nigin.e.đè / lugal.e

(and) to be led around the city / the king

26/27) [ba].an.sum / [đi.đab,.b]a lugal.la.kam

gave her over. It was a decision of the king.

Source: IM 28051 (Iraq Museum, Baghdad), l. 15ff (Neo-Sum); *Sumer* 15(1959), p. 12-14. Van Dijk, *ZA* 55 (1963) p. 70ff. S. Greengus, *HUCA* 40-41 (1969-70), pp. 33-44. Van Dijk read the text as showing a common-law wife accusing her husband of homosexuality before the assembly, in which case the assembly grants her a divorce and alimony, and the king punishes the man.

¹² Perhaps "half of her head" and "hair of the body and pudendum." See Greengus p.41, note 23.

1.2.2 Murder trial.

15/16) di-bi Ì-si-in^{ki}-šè / igi lugal-la-šè ba-DU

Their case was taken to Isin before the king.

17/18) ¹Ur-^dNin-urta lugal-e / di-bi pu-úh-ru-um

King Ur-Ninurta / ordered their case

19) Nibru^{ki}-ka dab₅-bi-da bi-in-du₁₁

to be accepted for trial in the assembly of Nippur

Nine men then address the assembly, asking for the death sentence for the men who killed the man, as well as his wife, who covered up the crime. Two other men question whether the wife should be killed since her involvement is less direct. The assembly responds that since she did not value her husband, her crime is worse, and they order both the men and wife killed.

Source: Texts 2N-T.54; 3N-T.340; 3N-T.403; 3N-T.426; 3N-T.273; PBS VIII 173. Cited in Jacobsen, Thorkild, *An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide. Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*. William L. Moran, editor (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). First published in *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* III, *Analecta Biblica et Orientalia* XII (Rome, 1959) pp. 130-150.

1.2.3 Rape Case.

The master of a slave-girl seeks redress from the assembly of Nippur after another man raped her. The accused denies the charge, but witnesses are called in to confirm it.

20'/21') **pu-uh-ru-um Nibru^{ki}-ka / igi-ne-ne in-gar-re-eš-àm**

the assembly of Nippur / addressed¹³ (the litigants)

22'/23') **mu gemé lugal-da-nu-me-a / a(!?) bí-in-gi₄ bí-in-du₁₁¹⁴**

because he deflowered the slave-girl without (her) owner's (knowledge),

24') **1/2 ma-na kù-babbar Lugal-me-lám-ke₄**

1/2 mina of silver Lugal-melamke

25') **¹Gu-ku-za-na lugal-a-ni-ra lá-e-dè¹⁵**

to Kuguzana¹⁶ her owner (he) will pay, they declared

26'/27') **[pu]-uh-ru-um-e di-d[ab₅ (?)...] / [d]i mi-in-dab₅-bé -x**

The assembly instituted for them the judicial process ...

Source: Finkelstein, *JAOS* 86 (1966), p. 359f.

1.2.4 Manual of Sumerian Legal Forms.

^dIš-me-^dDa-gan lugal-e

king Išme-Dagan

pu-uh-ru-u{m}

in the assembly of

Nibru^{ki}-k{a}

Nippur

¹³ literally *igi ... gar* means "to look at."

¹⁴ The verb *bí-in-du₁₁* should appear in line 25' rather than here (noted by Jacobsen).

¹⁵ The verb *bí-in-du₁₁* of line 23' should appear at this point in the text (noted by Jacobsen).

¹⁶ The name appears as Kuguzana elsewhere; this inversion is a scribal error in the copy.

ò di-kur ₅ -e-ne	and with the
gú si-si-da	convened judges
[di]-bi ub-š _u -ukk{i}n-na-k{a}	This case in the
	ubšukinnu
di-bi-da b{i}-in-du{g ₄ } ...	conducted
di-dab ₅ -ba ká- ^d Nin-urta(-kam)	The trial was
	conducted at the
	Gate of Ninurta.

Translation by Sol Cohen. Lieberman reads as: "Išme-Dagan the king ordered the assembly of Nippur and its judges to gather in the Ubš_u-ukkina." Source: Stephen J. Lieberman, *Nippur: City of Decisions*. Talk and notes presented at the 35th Rencontre d'Assyriologie, July 14, 1988, held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, PA. Published in *Nippur at the Centennial*, ed. Maria deJong Ellis (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 127ff). The line referring to the Gate of Ninurta is not cited in the same context in the published paper.

1.3 Hymns.

1.3.1 Lament over the destruction of Ur.

18) di-til-la inim pu-úḫ₁-ru-um d[ingir-re-ne-ka]

By the verdict, the command of the assembly of the gods,

19) inim-du₁₁-ga An ^dEn-líl-lá-ka-{ta} [...]

the directive of An and Enlil

- 20) **Urí^{ki}-ma nam-l[ugal-bi ba-an-túm]**
 [was the] k[ing]ship of Ur [... carried away].

Significance: Note parallelism: assembly = directive.

Source: **STVC** 25, 18-20, cited in Falkenstein **Gerichtsurkunden I**, [He sees this as a stereo-typed phrase], and Jacobsen **Tammuz**, p. 168.

Lines 143ff record Ningal's appeal:

- 152) **mìn-kam-ma-šè pu-úḫ-ru-um ki sag-ki-a ba-da-GÁL-la**
 Again unto the assembly, where the people were still
 (tarrying) on the ground,
- 153) **ᵀa-nun-na e-ne-èṁ-KA-kéš-da-bi ba-an-da-dúr-ru-NE-eš-àm**
 the Anunnaki gods being still seated after they had
 given the binding promise,
- 154) **úr ḫé-im-ma-BU-BU á(!) ḫé-im-ma-lá-lá**
 did I verily drag (my) legs, did I verily stretch out
 (my) arms.
- 155) **an-ra a-i-bí-mà me-e ḫé-im-ma-na-dé**
 I verily poured out my tears before An;
- 156) **ᵀmu-ul-líl-ra ní-mu šà-ne-ša, ḫé-im-ma-ag**
 verily I myself mourned before Enlil.
- 157) **urú-mu nam-ba-gul-lu ḫé-me-ne-dug,**
 "May my city not be destroyed!" I said indeed to them;
- 158) **urí^{ki}-mu nam-ba-gul-lu ḫé-me-ne-dug,**
 "May Ur not be destroyed!" I said indeed to them;
- 159) **ukù-bi nam-ba-til-e ḫé-me-ne-dug,**
 "May its people not be killed!" I said indeed to them.

160) **an-e e-ne-əm-bi ba-ra-mu-da-gur**

But An the while never bent toward that word;

161) **⁴mu-ul-líl-le ì-šag,ḥé-àm-ba šà-mu ba-ra-mu-un-ḥun**

Enlil with a "It is pleasing, let it be!" never soothed
my heart.

162) **urú-mu gul-gul-lu-ba á-bi ḥé-im-ma(!)-an-ág-eš**

The destruction of my city they verily gave in
commission;

163) **urí^{ki} gul-gul-lu(!)-ba á-bi ḥé-im-ma(!)-an-ág-eš**

the destruction of Ur they verily gave im commission;

164) **ukù-bi ug,gi-da na-ám-ba ḥa-ba-an-tar-ri-eš**

that its people be killed, as its fate they verily
determined.

Significance: Shows a failed appeal process and the final
power of An and Enlil.

Source: Samuel Kramer, **Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur, AS 12** (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1940). Minor translation improvements are noted in Th. Jacobsen, **JNES II** p. 171 fn. 70 and **Toward the Image of Tammuz**, pp. 168-9. Date: See **AJSL 58** (1941), pp. 219-224. Soon after the destruction of Ur (2000 BC).

1.3.2 Hymn to Nanna

14) **⁴en-líl an-ki-ka' mu-zu mu-kù-ga mu mi-ri-in-pà**

Enlil has called (you) a name in heaven and earth, your
name, a holy name,

15) **ḍumu-nun-e nam-gal-zu an-ki-a pa-è im-mi-in-è**

O princely son, your greatness in heaven and earth is
manifest,

16) unkin-maḥ nam-^den-líl-lá-na sag-e-eš mu-ra-an-rig,
the lofty assembly has granted his Enlil-ship¹⁷ to
you,¹⁸

17) ^den-ki-ke₄ ki-èš-eridu^{ki}-ta <nam> nam-men'-nam-maḥ-zu
mu-ri-in-tar
and Enki, from the site¹⁹ of the sanctuary of Eridu,
has decreed for you your majesty, your en destiny.

Source: UET 6, 67; see Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur*, p. 366ff.

1.3.3 Hymn in Honor of King Ibbīsuēn of Ur.

- 1) en me <PA>.GAN nu-di i-lim u₅ men-gal-la
Lord, indestructivle image²⁰, awe-inspiring light,
.... great crown,
- 2) šul ^dEN.ZU u₄ giš-ḥé è-a-šè? ^den-líl-le íl-la
Youthful Suen, raised up by Enlil as a light rising up
on the vault of the sky,

¹⁷ cf. illilūtu, CAD I p. 85.

¹⁸ Charpin: "The lofty assembly, at which were present all of the divine powers."

¹⁹ "The ablative-instrumental postposition -ta is used with inanimate beings only. Direction away from a person is expressed with ki... [-ta]." Marie-Louise Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language: An Introduction to its History and Grammatical Structure*. Mesopotamia: Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology Vol. 10, (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1984) p. 140, §205.

²⁰ Sol Cohen favors this translation for me in this context.

- 3) **su-lim-dagal idim-e diri ⁴nin-líl-le tu-da**
Wide-spreading majestic light, gliding upon the deep,
born of Ninlil,
- 4) **dingir mùš-a-ni' UN.UN unken-kur-kur-ra DU-[x]**
God, whose appearance is, ..[...] in the assembly
of the lands....
- 5) **iti_x(=U₄.⁴NANNA) x ⁴i-bí-⁴EN.ZU-mu**
The light of the moon, my Ibbisuen, ...[...].

In line 4, Sjöberg takes **mùš** = **zīmu**, but it can be read as:

⁴Inanna a-ni UN.UN unken

Inanna, ?? the peoples (**nīšû**) of all the assembled
lands ...

Source: UM 29-16-43; Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana* 19-20
(1970-71), p. 140f.

1.3.4 Šulgi hymns.

1.3.4.1 Šulgi C.

- 53) **ka-sa₆ nundum-ma-na ti-la-me-èn**
I, who (possess) an eloquent mouth and living(?) lips,
- 54) **šà-mu dub-gal-gal giš-ḫu[r x x]**
my heart, a large tablet, (with) drawings
- 55) **inim-ma muš-bi dū-[x x x]**
words
- 56) **DI á-gál-la-ta {lú} [x x] á-bi-šè in-ga-z[u]**
I know judgment knowledgeable
- 57) **{pu}-uḫ-ru-um ki ad-maḫ gi₄-gi₄-da**
In the assembly, the place where lofty counsel is taken,

- 58) **un-sag-gi₆ gú-si-a-gá(?)**
among my assembled black-headed people,
- 59) **sukkal-e inim-kur-kur-ra giš-la-la-da-bi**
the "vizier," the words of the lands,
- 60) **{x}-{zu} unken-ta igi-sag-gá**
. . . . from the assembly selected(?)
- 61) **gu₄ sag ki-x-ka téš-šè tag-t[a]g-g[im(?)]**
like a leading ox
- 62) **gaba-ri-inim-ma ì(?)-[pàd(?)-dè(?)]**
the words of the adversary
- 63) **gu₄-gim gù-nun [mu-di-ib-be]**
like an ox I would bel[low it to him]
- 64) **e-re-bu-um x []**
The "intruder"
- 65) **KA-ta(?)-[]**
(about eight lines are missing)

Note footnote 64 in Klein, **Šulgi Hymns (TAPS 71)**, p. 16:

"In the parallel hymn (ŠC), Šulgi stresses his eloquence and leadership in the general assembly (*puḫrum*) (lines 53-65), as well as his just verdicts in the court (lines 74-81)."

Source: J. Klein, U. Mus. manuscript on file.

1.3.4.2 Šulgi D.

Among a series of blessings pronounced by Enlil upon Šulgi:

- 393) **šà-za šà-húl-la hé-in-gál nam-ba-kúš-U-dè-èn**

May joy be placed in your heart, may you never grow
weary!

394) **lugal-zi-ša-gál-unken-za ḥé-me-en**

May you be the 'life-giving king' of your assembly!

395) **nam-ti-[l]a²-zu gu-gim ḥé-[m]ú-mú še-gim ḥé-mú-mú**

May your life flourish like herbs, may it flourish like grain!

Note, p. 123: "For **zi-ša-gál** see now Falkenstein, **ZANF 24**, 10ff. It is followed by a clear **UNKEN** sign, although we would expect here **uru**, which normally occurs in similar context."

Source: J. Klein, **Three Šulgi Hymns** (Bar-Ilan: 1981), p. 88.

1.3.4.3 Šulgi F.

30) **u₄-ba an-né ki-en-gi-ra nam bí-in-tar^{2r} kalam-e gù ba-an-dé**

At that time, An determined the fate in Sumer, (and) called to the land;

31) **⁴aš-ím-babbar-re unken-né ḥúl-l[a b]a-ta-an-è**

Ašimbabbar brought out (the word) to the (divine?)²¹ assembly in joy,

32) **me-a ki-{gi}-LI ba-[x x x]-UL-x []**

"The ... the place of (Content of speech follows in broken context)

Source: J. Klein, U. Mus. manuscript on file.

²¹ So noted by Klein. Given the reference to **kalam** in the previous line, we suggest that the human population of the land of Sumer may be in view, rather than a divine assembly. Clearer parallel occurrences of **kalam** and **ukkin** are noted elsewhere (1.4.2. Ewe and Grain, etc.).

1.3.4.4 Šulgi O.

- 16) i,-nun-kù a-zal-le-gal-gal-la kun-zu-šè ku₆-mušen ki-
ús-sa

Pure "Princely-River" (of) great (fresh) water
(streams), your reservoir (teams with) fish and
birds, firmly founded;

- 17) bàd-nigín-na uru-ki-gá-ra-bi udúg-^{giš}tukul ki-ús-sa

Its city, built within the encircling walls, is an
udug-mace, a weapon, firmly founded.

- 18) unken-gar-ra un-ša-ra-ba ^{kuš}šur_x(ÍB)^{ùr} ki-ús-sa

The multitude in its convened assembly is a siege
shield,²² firmly founded.

- 19) ki-en-gi-ir-a ki-tuš-gá-ra-bi ní-gal ki-ús-sa

Its well established settlements in Sumer (command)
great terror, firmly founded;

- 20) kur-kur áb-zi-gim lu-lu-a-bi

Its lands, as numerous as fecund cows

Source: J. Klein, AOAT 25 p. 276; SLTNi 79.

1.3.4.5 Šulgi X.

- 46) ^dinanna dumu-^dsuen-na-ke₄

Inanna, the daughter of Sîn,

- 47) šul-gi dumu-^dnin-súna-ka-ra

For Šulgi, the son of Ninsun,

²² Sol Cohen concludes from this imagery that the assembly sat in a semi-circle (like a heavy siege shield, not a light-weight arm shield) around the leader. For discussion and justification of the translation of ^{kuš}E.ÍB-ùr as "siege-shield" see Eichler, JAOS 103.1 (1983), p. 95-102.

48) **nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re**

Decrees the fate (as follows):

49) **mè-a igi-šè du-zu gá-me-èn**

"In battle I am your leader,

50) **šen-šen-na kuš_x(=SAĤAR)-gim tukul-lá-zu-me-èn**

In combat I carry your weapon like an armor-bearer,

51) **unken-na inim-muđ-gál-zu-me-èn**

In the assembly I am your advocate,

52) **ḥa-ra-an-na zi-šà-gál-zu gá-me-èn**

On campaign I am your inspiration.

53) **sipa šà-ge-pà-da-x-kù-ga-me-én**

You, the chosen shepherd of the holy temple?

54) **lugal ú-a-zi-é-an-na-me-èn**

You, the royal provider of the Eanna,

This appears to be a military context, but Klein notes:

"Should our line imply that in the Ur III period the assembly still had a political function?" (citing Lugalbanda 199, sub 290, etc.). Note the uses of **puḥru** in a military context to mean "host," "forces" in *Enuma Eliš* I 149, Sennacherib's Annals, etc.

Source: J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (Bar-Ilan: 1981), p. 88; TLB II 2; SGT p. 114.

1.3.5 Sumerian Temple Hymns.

7) **abzu tigi-zu me-kam**

Abzu, your *tigi* (musical instrument) is part of the
ritual,

- 8) **ezen-tùn-gal-zu šu-si-sá-àm**
your great festival bowls are indeed handed out.
- 9) **gur₄-gur₄-gál ki-dingir-ti-la-za**
In your prepared banquet where gods abide,
- 10) **kin-gal kin ki-du₁₀ u₄ nu-dib-bé**
The great *kin*, the *kin*, the beautiful place, light
enters not.²³
- 11) **é-zà-kešda-zu šita^x sá nu-sá**
O temple! Your pure girding has no equal!

Source: Sjöberg, TCS 3; translated with notes from Sol
Cohen *apud* Jin Sup Kim.

1.3.6 Hymn to Inanna (in-nin šà-gur₄-ra).

- 56) **in-nin giš-éš-ur₄ KI.KAL gál-tag₄-tag₄ bar-re K[A] x TAR**
The Mistress who opens inarable land with the ...
- 57) **kú-ka-tar-ra-bi gú-bi nu-zi-zi gìri[?] [x x]**
The braggarts do not 'lift their neck', ...
- 58) **šà-gur₄-ra-ni dím-dím-ma-ni ab-ak in-nin aš-a-ni**
[x D]ÍM[?]
Her stout heart ..., the Mistress who alone is ...,
- 59) **maḥ-di-[un]ken-[n]a zà-gal ba-e-dúr-ru zi-da gáb-bu BAD**
The exalted in the assembly, sitting on the seat of
honor, ... right and left,

²³ Sjöberg takes **kin-gal** as a building (see his notes).

- 60) **hur-sag-[gal an-b]a-gin_x pi-el-lá šu x x mu-lá**
 A huge mountain, as if it were refuse, she destroys ...

....

- 198) **DI-DI-zu šu-bal-a nu-ub-zu ib-[ba]-zu zukum-ma**
 Your ... cannot be changed, your anger is crushing,
 199) **šu-du₁₁-ga-zu nì šu nu-ĜĚ x á-ág-gá / dù-dù-a-zu**
an nu-mu-un-na-an-lá

What you have created cannot be ..., ... order, what
 you have build An has not (been able to)
 'decrease' it.

- 200) **an-da ^den-líl-da lú'-zu-a unken-na gal-gal x /**
munus sag-e-eš mu-e-rig,

With An and Enlil ..., in the assembly great ...,
 woman, you(?) have given as a gift,

- 201) **ka-téš an ^den-líl mu-e-x x gi KALAM šu-zu-uš**
dab₅-x

Unison ... An and Enlil ..., giving the land/people
 into your hand,

- 202) **inim bí-in-du₁₁-ga-zu an nu-mu-un-na-an-gi₄**

The word you have uttered An does not ... to/for him,

- 203) **he-àm du₁₁-ga-zu an-gal nu-[mu-u]n-na-an-BÚR**

When you have said 'So be it,' great An does not ...
 to/for him,

- 204) **hé-àm-zu hé-àm gul-lu_{na}[x x x] gul-lu**

Your "So be it" is "So be it," to(?) destroy ...
 destroy.

205) **gi₄ unken-na bí-in-du₁₁-ga-z[u] an 'en-líl nu-ság**

When you have said your ... in the assembly, An and
Enlil have not scattered it,

206) **eš-bar ab-bi bí-in-du₁₁-ga-z[u] an-ki-ta nu-kúr-ru**

When you have made a decision ..., it cannot be changed
in heaven and earth,

Note the implication here that An and Enlil normally have veto over the other gods in the assembly. It is a praiseworthy matter that a lesser god's advice is so good that the higher gods always go along with it. Unfortunately lines 200 and 201 are difficult, as they may contain another possible parallelism between **kalam** and **ukkin**.

Source: **ZA NF 65** (1975), pp. 182, 196f.

1.3.7 Hymn of Gudea to Baba.

16) **ní gùr 'a-nun-gé-ne me-en**

You are the (one) attired with awesomeness among the
Anunai gods.

17) **sipa unken-na hi-li-a mu-e-ni-pà-a²⁴**

As the shepherd of the assembly in (his) attractiveness
you have summoned him.

18) **ki-maḥ-a-na mu-ni-zu**

. . . . you have recognized him in his lofty position,

²⁴ Following Sjöberg's reading from his lexical card index.

- 19) **mu-na-an-súm**
 you have given him.

- 39) **^aba-ba₆ nin sag-ga** (= rev. 12)
 Baba, head lady,
- 40) **nin-mu unkin-na igi mi-ni-íl-[la²⁵ . . .]**
 My lady, in the (divine) assembly you have raised the
 eye, (you have clothed him with joy)²⁶
- 41) **lú zi-šà-ga im-mi-ni-pà sipa zid Gù-d[e']-a**
 you have summoned the man with a blessing in the heart,
 true shepherd Gudea,

Examples of approval/blessing in the (divine) assembly.

Source: **STVC** 36, **SAHG** 16, R. Jestin, **Mélanges Syriens**
 (Dussaud Festschrift), p. 583ff.

1.3.8 Execration of Enemies of Iddin-Dagan.

- 19) **nin-me-lám-huš an-né-đú-[da]**
 Queen [Ninisinna] whose *melam* is awesome, born of An,
- 20) **sag-zi-kalam-ma-ka èn-tar-re ukkin-n[a-i]gi-gál**
 Who cares for the righteous of the land, who keeps an
 eye on the assembly,
- 21) **nin-ti-la-ug₅-ga zi-kalam-ma-šu-du₆**
 Queen of the living and the dead, who holds the life of
 the land in (her) hand,

²⁵ Sjöberg notes "not **LA**" in his annotated copy of **STVC**.

²⁶ translation from **SAHG**.

22) nu-gig-ra na-me nu-gub-bu gù-an-né-si ad-gá-gá

Hierodule to whom no one (dares) step up, who sounds
the cry that fills the heaven,

Source: Gurney and Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts*, OECT 5 (1976).

1.3.9 "Man and his God."

113) dingir-mu x x nam-tag-mu igi-mu ù-mi-zu

My god, ... you have let me recognize my sins,

114) ká-[unkin]-ka ḥa-lam-ma-bi dil-bad-bi ga-àm-du₁₁

I shall recount in the gate of [...]²⁷ those of them
that have been forgotten, and those of them which
are visible(?).

115) guruš-me-en ka-tar nam-tag-mu igi-zu-{šè} ga-si-il

I, the young man, shall publicly declare my sins before
you!

116) unkin-e ú-KU²⁸ IM.DUGUD-gim ḥu-mu-ub-šèg-šèg-e

In the assembly, let tears(!?) flow, like a heavy
downpour (of rain)!

117) é-zu ama-ša-ne-ša₄-mu {ír-mu} ḥé-šeš₄-x-[]

Your 'house', let my praying mother continuously
weep(?) for me!

²⁷ In comparing this sign with that in line 116, Sjöberg does not confirm the broken *unken* here that Green read. Sjöberg also questions the reliability of the translation of the second half of this line.

²⁸ Sjöberg's index card to this line has the note: "Text F has SA₄.ALAN instead of ú-KU (in text G)". He also disagrees with the rendering of "tears."

118) {šul}-me-en arhuš šà-ne-ša₄-{a-mu} [x]-x-kù-zu h́e-
em-mi-[tuku(?)]

I, the valiant, may your holy [heart have(?)] pity and
mercy on me!

Significance: Most texts are not in touch with the man on
the street. This one appears to be, although the text is in
poor condition and cryptic.

Texts: ANET, p. 589. See J. Klein manuscript in U. Mus.
files with notes and comments by Sjöberg. STVC 1, 2.
Supplement to VT 3 (1960) pp. 172-82. Bi. Or. 17 pp. 149ff.

1.3.10 Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-zeit, W. H. Ph.
Römer (Leiden, Brill: 1965), p. 13.

31 II 25) an-kù-ga ki-nam-tar-ra-né

At the place of holy An, where destinies are determined,

26) dingir-an-na ba-su₈-ge-eš-a

the gods of heaven stepped,

27) 'a-nun-na-ke₄-ne gizzal ba-an-ak-eš

The Anunna have inclined their ears,

28) šà-ba-tuk-àm

šabatukku.

29) unken-gar-ra-ba h́e-àm ba-ni-in-ne-eš

In their convened assembly they say "so be it."

1.3.11 Hymn to Inanna. Chiera, SRT 9.

15) ka-aš-maḥ ukkin-na ša-mu-un-bar-re-en

You (Inanna) make the exalted decision in the assembly

16-17) **giš-nu₁₁-gim an-ta šà-ukkin-na-ka / zi-du ša-mu-ri-
gin erím ša-mu-ni-gub**

when the righteous one goes to you in the heart of the
assembly like to the light from heaven, the evil
one gives up there.

Source: van Dijk, **Sumerische Götterlieder Teil II**, pp.
122ff; Jestin, **RA 35** (1938), p. 165ff.

1.3.12 Hymn to Ninurta. Hugo Radau, **BE 29 4 Rs.**

11) **[lu]gal-mu di-zu di-gal-àm nu-pà-dè inim-zu ukkin
igi nu-bar-re-dam**

My king, your judgment is an exalted judgment, no one
can discover it, the assembly does not perceive
your word.

12) **en ^dnin-urta di-zu di-gal-àm nu-pà-dè inim-zu
ukkin igi nu-bar-re-dam**

Lord Ninurta, your judgment is an exalted judgment, no
one can discover it, the assembly does not
perceive your word.

Source: **SGT II** p. 122ff.; Translation only in Falkenstein,
SAHG 2.

1.3.13 Hymn of Išbi'erra. N 1740 and CBS 14051.

Third **ki-ru-gú**:

28') **ki-in-da-tu lú-elam.ki-ma-ra inim-bi ba-an-na-an-túm**

To Kindatu, the man of Elam, they brought this news,

29') **an-ša₄-an.ki-e lú-su-ud-ág ba-ab-gi₄**

Sudag of Anšan has returned

30') **kur im-ma-an-te**

(and) approaches the land.

31') **[u]gnim-ma-ni pu-úh-ru-um-bi**

The assembly of his army

32') **inim mu-na-ni-íb-bé**

he addressed thusly:

33') **ki-ru-gú-eša₅-kam-ma**

"This is the third *kirugu*

34') **[^di]š-bi-ér-ra-mu engar ^den-líl-le**

My Išbi'erra, the laborer (uncertain) of Enlil,

35') **[x x]á-maḥ mu-na-an-sum**

gave to him a superior force [in battle?]

36') **[giš-gi]-gál-bi-im [end of fragment]**

he is an *antiphone*(???)"

Source: J. Van Dijk, *JCS* 30 (1978), p. 189.

1.4 Wisdom literature.

1.4.1 Creation of the Hoe (*giš.al* hymn).

56: **nin-geštu₂-dagal-la-ke₄ ^dnisaba-kam**

The lady of broad wisdom, Nisaba

57:²⁹ **ukkin-na é-an-na-ka giš.al-tar ba-an-du₁₁**

in the assembly, in Eanna, the altar spoke

²⁹ This line follows Sjöberg's reading on his index card. Behrens does not attempt to translate this line.

58: é-ḥa-mun na-nam giš.al-tar mu-un-da-DU

It is the Ehamun, the altar accompanied it.

Notes: Highly variant text.

Source: ms. Herman Behrens, U. Mus.

1.4.2 Ewe and Grain (Lahar and Ashnan).

53) laḥar 'ašnam-bi pa-è mu-un-ak-eš

Thus both Ewe and Wheat were radiant in appearance

54) unken-na ḥé-gál mu-da-an-gál-le-eš

And among the gathered people they caused abundance,

55) kalam-ma zi šà-gál mu-da-an-gál-le-eš

And in the Land they brought about well-being,

Note: Interesting use of **unken** to refer to (civilized) mankind as a whole (note parallelism with **kalam** line 55).

Source: *Acta Sumerologica* 9 (Japan) p. 14ff. Alster & Vanstiphout.

1.5 Lexical Texts.

1.5.1. Ea tablet I. MSL 14 p. 197. (MA recension: VAT 10172).

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|-------------|------------------------|-----------|
| 42) | ke-el | LAGAB | MIN | nap-ḥa-ru |
| 43) | MIN | LAGAB.LAGAB | la-gab min-na-bi | MIN |
| 43a) | ki-l[i] | LAGAB.LAGAB | šá Á.KAL.LAGAB.<LAGAB> | gi-ip-šu |
| 43b) | | | pu-uḥ-ru | |
| 44) | ki-in | LAGAB.LAGAB | nap-ḥa-ru | |
| 45) | ki-líb | LAGAB.LAGAB | la-gab min-na-bi | nap-ḥa-ru |

Sources: See also MAOG 11/1/2 p. 104; CAD N₂ s.v. *napharu* lexical section ("sum, total, whole, totality").

1.5.2. Ea tablet 3. AOS 53, p. 142.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|---------|-----------------------|------------|
| 237) | [ba-ra] | [KISAL] | šu-pár-ru-rum | spread out |
| 238) | [pa-ar] | [KISAL] | [šá SA.PÁR sa]-par-ri | net |
| | | | (=par ₄) | |
| 239) | [ki-sa-al] | KISAL | ki-sal-lu | |
| | | | pu-úh-rum | |
| 240) | [e] | [É] | [bi-tu] | bi-i-tum |

1.5.3. HAR.RA = *hubullu* II. MSL 5 p. 51.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| 10) | PA.TE.SI | iš-šak-ku | city ruler |
| 11) | GÁ-bar | šá-an-gu-ú | priest |
| 12) | PA+AL | šab-ru-ú | municipal overseer |
| 13) | um-me-a | um-man-nu | craftsman |
| 14) | URUxBAR | pu-uḥ-ru | assembly [of craftsmen] ³⁰ |
| 15) | šid | mi-nu-tum | number, voting board |
| 16) | šid-um-me-a | " um-ma-ni-e | number or voting board of craftsmen. |
| 17) | di | di-i-nu | judgment, legal decision |
| 18) | di-ku ₅ | da-a-a-nu | judge |

Note: CAD M₂ s.v. *minûtu* lists no references that support the sense of a "voting board" as proposed here by Landsberger.

³⁰So Landsberger's note.

1.5.4. **HAR.RA** = *hubullu* IV. **MSL** 5 p. 158.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 99) | giš-gu-za-me-luḥ-ḥa | <i>me-luḥ-ḥu-ú</i>
[chair] from Meluhha |
| 100) | giš-gu-za-má-laḥ₄ | <i>šá ma-laḥ-ḥi</i>
[chair] of a boatman |
| 101) | giš-gu-za-níg-nigin-na | <i>ku-us-si pu-uḥ-ri</i>
chair of the assembly |
| 102) | giš-gu-za-di-kud | " <i>da-a-a-nu</i>
chair of the judge |
| 103) | [giš-gu-za-gàr]-ba | " <i>kar-r[i]</i>
chair with knobs |

The next lines list "Chair covered with [one of the following:] gold, silver, copper, bronze, leather, exotic wood."

1.5.5. **HAR.RA** = *hubullu*? K. 4369: **Babyloniaca** 7 pl. III
col. II. Identified in **CAD** as **Izi E** series. NB.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----------------|---|
| 8) | [ME-x] | <i>qa-bu-ú</i> | X=0 in <i>Proto-Aa</i> MSL 14 p. 91 71:4. |
| 9) | [ME-x] | <i>ka-ra-bu</i> | X=0 in <i>Proto-Ea</i> MSL 2 p 129 iii 17. |
| 10) | [ME-x] | <i>sa-a-ru</i> | |
| 11) | [ME-x] | <i>um-mu</i> | X=0 in MSL 13 p. 186 11. |
| 12) | [ME-x] | <i>pu-uḥ-rù</i> | |
| 13) | [ME-x] | <i>pu-uz-rù</i> | |
| 14) | [ME-x] | <i>at-mu-ú</i> | |
| 15) | [ME-x] | <i>li-ša-nu</i> | |

The Sumerian portion of this column is broken away. The third column above lists occurrences of a similar **ME** equivalence attested in another lexical text.

1.5.6. **MSL 9**, p. 126. MAH 15850+ col. i VII.

49)	[ME]	[lu-ú]-tum	paralysis
50)		[d]u-ú-tum	virility
51)		[p]u-úḥ-rum	assembly
52)		[n]i-nu	we
53)		qá-bu-um	to say

Compare also the **ME** series in **MSL 2**, p. 129 (above).

1.5.7. Sign list. **MSL 3** p. 146.

259)	ú-ru	[sign Labat # 38]	a-lum
260)	ú-ru	[sign Labat # 43]	a-bu-bu
261)	e-rim	[sign Labat # 49]	i-šit-tu
262)	še-ig	[sign URUxTU]	šá-qu-um-ma-tu
263)	gu-ur	[sign Labat # 46]	ka-sa-mu
264)	uk-kin	[sign Labat # 40]	pu-uḥ-ru
265)	gi-iš-gal	[sign Labat # 49x]	man-za-zu
266)	ši-li-ig	[sign Labat # 44]	ša-ga-pu-ru

1.5.8. Chicago Syllabary, AO 7661. **AS 7**, p. 22.

202)	1	du-ru	KIB	kib-bu	BIT-tum	
203)	1	da-ru	KIB	"	UD-ri-ku	
204)	1	pu-uḥ-rum	KIB	"	pu-uḥ-rum	assembly
205)	1	li-rù	KIB	"	ga-mi-rum	completeness?
206)	(next sign in series).					

1.5.9. Lexical fragment from Tell Billa. **JCS** 7 p. 135, #58.

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|-------------------|-------|
| 3) | <i>pu-uḥ-ru</i> | UKKIN | [...] |
| 4) | <i>ma-ak-ki-ru</i> | ! | |
| 5) | <i>šu-ru-ub-tu</i> | <i>pu-uḥ-[ru]</i> | |
| 6) | <i>tàk-ši-rum</i> | ----- | |

puḥru is linked with "that which is brought in" (5) or "assemblage", in addition to the usual **ukkin** (3).

1.5.10. K 2054. **CT** 18 pl. 30, col. III.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------|--|
| 9) | DÙ.GÁ | <i>e-me-[du]</i> | to stand |
| 10) | GÁ.GÁ | <i>pu-uḥ-[ru]</i> | assembly |
| 11) | UL.ŠÁR.RA | <i>kiš-šá-[tu]</i> | totality |
| 12) | BAR.GI.DI.LI | <i>ši-ú-[tu]</i> | (unknown) cf. AHW s.v. <i>ši'ûtu</i> p. 1107. |

See parallel text AO 7092 in **RA** 16 (1919) p. 167 III 24;

note that AO 7092 has a line that is not in K 2054:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 52) | ÉRIN.GAL | <i>pu-uḥ-[ru]</i> | large group |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|

1.5.11. **LTBA** 2 1 VI.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 34) | [X].ŠUB.UD | <i>nar-ri-tú</i> | |
| 35) | um-man-nu | <i>pu-ḥur UN-meš</i> | assembly of people |
| 36) | ka-ra-šú | <i>uš-ma-nu</i> | camp |
| 37) | sa-ma-šú | <i>sa-pa-nu</i> | (uncertain) |
| 38) | ba-ṣu | <i>bal-ṭu</i> | alive, healthy |

1.5.12. S.11 + S.980 King, **Seven Tablets of Creation II** pl. 53.

- 35) **DINGIR** *i-lum*
- 36) **HUR** *lìb-bi*
- 37) **ŠÀ** *lìb-bi*
- 38) **ŠÀ** *pu-uḥ-rù*
- 39) **IR** *ka-mu-[u ?]*

1.5.13. Izi C series **di** = *di-e-nu*. **MAOG 13/2.** p. 34, col. IV.

- 15) **di.dingir.utu** *di-en* ^d*Šamaš*
- 16) **di.lugal** ditto *šarri*
- 17) **di.** ^(un-ki-na)*ukkina.na* ditto *pu-uḥ-ri*
- 18) **di.pu-úḥ-ru** ditto
- 19) **di.u.mu.zu** ditto *al-la-at-te*
decision of the widow³¹

1.5.14. **Ugaritica V**, p. 240. Ugaritic text.

- 3) [1] **DAG** *pa-aṭ-ṭ[u(?)]* limit, boundary, area
- 4) [1] **DAG** *pu-uḥ-ru[m]*
- 5) [1 **E**](?) *e-ku* [
- 6) [1 **E**](?) *bi-tum* [
- 7) 1 **KISAL** *k]i-sà-lu* [

1.5.15. *Silbenvokabular A* BM 13902. **AS 16**, p. 22.

- 29) [**a**]-**ku** *wa-aš-bu*
- 30) [**nigin**]-**a** *i-na pu-uḥ!-ri-šū-nu*
- 31) [**a**]-**pap** *ra-bu-tum*

³¹ **CAD D** s.v. *dīnu*, p. 150 reads line 19 as **di.nu.mu.zu** = *al-ma-at-te*.

1.5.16. Lú = ša series. MSL 12, p. 96.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| 96) | sukkal-gir ₅ -a | suk-kal ú-ba-ri |
| 97) | sukkal-lú-kaš ₄ -a | MIN la-si-mu |
| 98) | sukkal-di-ku ₅ | MIN da-a-a-ni |
| 99) | sukkal-ukkin-a | suk-kal pu-uḥ-ri |
| 100) | sukkal-ensi ₂ | MIN iš-šak-ku |
| 101) | sukkal-é-bar | MIN ša-an-gi-e |
| | | |
| 116) | gal-zu | mu-'-i-ru |
| 117) | gal-zu-ukkin-na | rab pu-uḥ-ru |
| 118) | gi-til | ša-bi-ṭu |

1.5.17. SIG₇.ALAN = Nabnītu, Tablet O.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-----------|
| 291) | [un]-{ke-en}ukkin | pu-uḥ-rum |
| 292) | [ki]-{sal}kisal | 2 |
| 293) | [x]-{x} ³² -ub | 3 |
| 294) | [pu]-úḥ-rum | 4 |

Source: MSL 16 p. 295.

³² Footnote to this line comments: "small final verical after break; perhaps [mu-r]u-ub." Based on this parallel, Dr. Sol Cohen suggests that the ME-X = puḥrum from Izi E 12 above might be reconstructed as ME-A. For the sense of ME-A meaning "all", note the Sumerian Flood Story (i) 41-43:

uru^{ki}-me-a-bi hé-im-mi-in-dù gissu-bi ní ga-ba-ab-dúb-bu
Let all their cities be built, I want their shade to be restful.

uru?-me-a sig₄-bi ki-kù-ga hé-im-mi-in-šub
Let the bricks of all cities be laid on holy places,

ki?-eš-me-a ki-kù-ga hé-im-mi-ni-ib-ri
Let all ... rest on holy places....

For further occurrences of ME-A = "all", see Civil's notes on these lines in Lambert, *Atra-ḫasis* p. 168.

1.5.18. **TCL 6** pl. 17. Commentary on the *Enuma Anu Enlil* astronomical series. On line 20, the word **ILLAT^{ges}** ("group" or "troops") is set apart in the text, followed by *pu-uḫ-ri*.

1.5.19 **ḪAR-ra** = *ḫubullu XXI*, **MSL 11** (Rome, 1974).

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--------------------|
| 1) | Nibru^{ki} | = | <i>ni-ip-pu-ru</i> |
| 2) | dur-an-ki | = | MIN |
| 3) | ki-in-gi^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 4) | unú-X^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 5) | nam-bi-tar-ra^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 6) | dúr ^{ges}gešnimbar^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 7) | dúr ^{ges}l[a]m^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 8) | oru-te-nam^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 9) | oru od-ul-lí-a^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 10) | oru šen-šen-{na}^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 11) | oru-unug^{ki} | = | MIN |
| 12) | oru-sag^{ki} | = | MIN |

Lieberman sites this text in connection with the city of Nippur, noting that line 5 may be translated as "Their/Its-Fate-Decided." He also suggests that the X in line 4 be read as *ukkin*, rendering this line as "(the) assembly's eating-place." *Nippur: City of Decisions in Nippur at the Centennial*, edited by Maria deJong Ellis (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 135-136.

1.6 Used as part of a title, with no direct relation on an actual *assembly* in the context. These are listed here

briefly for the sake of completeness but will not bear on any discussion.

1.6.1 High commissioner (**gal-zu-unken-na**).

1.6.1.1 Šarrum-bāni to Šū-Sîn 2, p. 229, l. 2, 25.

1.6.1.2 Ur-dun to Šulgi, p. 218, l. 8.

1.6.1.3 Arad-mu to Šulgi, p. 142, l. 6.

1.6.1.4 Šulgi to Arad-mu, p. 155, l. 18-21

These texts give one the best feel for the rank and power of the **gal-zu-unken-na**, at least when the powers of the position were abused. It appears to be a royally-appointed secular position.

Source: Michalowski, "Royal Correspondence of Ur," (thesis).

1.6.1.5 "Ration" list from Ekišnugal, which lists (at the top of the list) a **gal-zu-ukkin-na**.

Charpin notes its occurrence is extremely rare in documents of this type. [This may indicate that he was normally paid by other means].

Source: **Le clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi** D. Charpin p. 235f.

1.6.1.6 Balbale to Ningizzida.

27: **palil gal-zu-unkina-na PA.PA-a hé-du,**

A list of titles of the god.

Source: van Dijk, **Sumerische Götterlieder Teil II** p. 82.

1.6.2 **ukkin-gal** or **gal-ukkin**.

1.6.2.1 Nuška, acting as a courier, is termed an **ukkingal**.

Source: Sultantepe Tablets **JNES 26** (1967) p. 204-5.

1.6.2.2 Text 15: 3 -- account for the delivery of an ox from the king to a **gal-unken**.

1.6.2.3 Text 49: left edge -- **PA.URU unken-né**. Tablet consists of a list of names. (**PA.URU** is "the overseer of the individuals listed in the text").

Source: Texts from Ur (**Studia Pohl: Series Maior 13**) Alberti & Pomponio.

1.6.2.4 Hymn to Enlil.

104) His great vizier, his chamberlain, Nusku,

sukkul-mah-a-ni kingal ^dnusku

105) The command, the word which he (Enlil) had placed in his heart,

106) He (Nusku) learned it from him, he consults with him,

Note: Perhaps parallelism of **kingal** with great vizier.

Source: Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns (Thesis, 1969) Daniel Reisman. See also Adam Falkenstein, **Sumerische Götterlieder Teil I**, p. 17.

1.6.2.5 Sumerian Temple Hymns.

58: **^dudug-é-kur-ra kin-gal-Nuska-ke,**

[Your prince, the prince, the counsellor of Enlil],
worthy of the lofty shrine.

224) Your true vizier (is) the leader of heaven (**kin-gal-an-na**),

225) Your princess, the foremost among the gods,

Notes: In discussion, Sjöberg links **gal.unken** = **kingal** = **rab puhri**, **mu'erru** (CAD s.v. **mu'erru**, notes: "**gal.unken** has nothing to do with an assembly").

Source: Sjöberg, TCS 3.

Chapter 3.

Puḫrum-relevant literature by genre:

Primary Akkadian textual sources.

2. Akkadian.

2.1 Myth and Epic.

2.1.1 Enuma Elish.

Tablet I: (line numbers and transliteration follow the Lambert and Parker cuneiform text edition, translation closely follows Heidel).

55) **mim-mu-u iq-pu-du pu-uḫ-ru-uš-[šun]**

Whatever they planned in their [Apsu and Mummu's]
assembly

56) **a-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-šu-nu uš-tan-nu-ni**

was communicated to the gods, their first-born.

Here the private consulting of Apsu with Mummu is termed an "assembly." Being only two people, this borders on a prepositional usage (i.e., "together").

131) **[na]-šu-ú tam-ḫa-ri na-zar-bu-bu lab-bu**

They prepared for the fight, fuming (and) raging;

132) **ukkin-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú šu-la-a-ti**

They held a meeting and planned a conflict.

.....

148) **ú-ša-aš-qa 'Kin-gu ina bi-ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu uš-rab-[bi-iš]**

She exalted Kingu; in their midst she made him great.

- 149) a-li-kut maḥ-ri pa-an um-ma-ni mu-'-ir-ru-tu pu-ḥu-
[ru]..

To march at the head of the army, to direct the
for[ces],

- 150) na-še-e kakki ti-iṣ-bu-tu te-bu-u a-na-an-ta

To raise the weapons for the engagement, to launch the
attack,

- 151) šu-ut tam-ḥa-ru ra-ab šik-ka-tu-tu

The high command of the battle

- 152) ip-qid-ma qa-tuṣ-šu ú-še-ši-ba-aš-šu ina kar-ri

She intrusted to his hand. She sat him in the
assembly, (saying:)

- 153) a-di ta-a-ka ina UNKEN ilāni u-šar-bi-ka

"I have uttered your spell; in the assembly of the gods
I have magnified you."

Note: "Making someone great" (Š of *rabûm*) is done in the
assembly, *in their midst*.

On lines 101f see also: Jensen, ZA 36, p. 77f. Lewy, OrNS
15, p. 380. Poebel, AJSL 51, p. 172. Zimmern, ZA 35, p.
239; 38, p. 120.

Tablet II:

The report of Ea to Anšar about what Ti'amat is planning,
highly repetitious of Tablet I:

- 12) pu-uḥ-ru šit-ku-na-at-ma ag-giš la-ab-bu (cf. III 16)

She held a meeting and raged furiously ...

18) ukkin-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú šu-la-a-tum

(cf. III 22)

They held a meeting and planned the conflict ...

The scene in I 152ff is repeated in II 33-39, III 37-43, and III 95-101).

Marduk speaking to his father (Anšar), in response to being asked to battle Ti'amat:

123) šum-ma-ma ana-ku mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-ma

"If I am indeed to be your avenger,

124) a-kam-me ti-amat-ma ú-bal-laṭ-ka-a-šu-un

To vanquish Ti'amat and to keep you alive,

125) šuk-na-ma pu-uḥ-ra šu-te-ra i-ba-a šim-ti

Convene the assembly, announce again my fate.

126) ina Ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki mit-ḥa-riš ḥa-diš tiš-ba-ma

In *Ubšu-ukkinnaku* seat yourselves together gladly.

127) ip-šu pi-ya ki-ma ka-tu-nu-mu ši-ma-ta lu-ši-im

May I through the utterance of my mouth determine the destinies, instead of you.

128) la ut-tak-kar mim-mu-u a-ban-nu-u a-na-ku

Whatever I create shall remain unaltered,

129) áy i-tūr áy i-in-nin-na-a se-kar šap-ti-ya

The command of my lips shall not return (void), it shall not be changed."

Note that the divine assembly is seated in the *Ubšu-ukkina* for the purpose of determining fates. In response to Marduk's request, Anšar sends Kaka his Vizier to "Cause the

gods my fathers to be brought before me. / Let them bring all the gods to me! / Let them converse (and) sit down to a banquet. / Let them eat bread (and) prepare wine." (Tablet III 6-9).

Tablet III:

The gods convene an assembly in response to Anšar's request:

129) **ik-ša-šu-nim-ma il-lak-[ku-ni]**

They gathered together and departed,

130) **ilāni rabūti ka-li-šu-nu mu-šim-mu [šimāti]**

All the great gods who determine the destinies.

131) **i-ru-bu-ma mut-ti-iš An-šar im-lu-u [ḫi-du-ta]**

They entered into the presence of Anšar and were filled with joy,

132) **in-niš-qu aḫu-u a-ḫi ina puḫri [in-nin-du]**

They kissed one another and joined in assembly.

133) **li-ša-nu iš-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti [uš-bu]**

They conversed (and) [sat down] to a banquet.

134) **aš-na-an i-ku-lu ip-ti-qu ku-r[u-un-nu]**

They ate bread (and) prepared wi[ne].

Significance: Key passage describing the gathering of the assembly and the assembly banquet.

Tablet IV:

The assembly confers kingship (cf. IV 28) upon Marduk:

- 1) **id-du-šum-ma pa-rak ru-bu-ú-ti**
They erected for him a lordly *adytum* (**parakku**)¹,
- 2) **ma-ḥa-ri-iš ab-bé-e-šu a-na ma-li-ku-ti ir-me**
And he took his place before his fathers to (receive)
sovereignty.
- 3) **at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta i-na ilī rabûti**
"You are (the most) important among the great gods;
- 4) **ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an sè-qar-ka ʹA-nu-um**
Your destiny is unequalled, your command is (like) Anu.
- 5) **ʹAMAR.UD kab-ta-ta i-na ilī rabûti**
Marduk, you are (the most) important among the great
gods,
- 6) **ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an sè-qar-ka ʹA-nu-um**
Your destiny is unequalled, your command is (like) Anu.
- 7) **iš-tu u₄-mi-im-ma la in-nin-na-a qí-bit-ka**
From this day onward your command shall not be changed.
- 8) **šu-uš-qu-ú ù šu-uš-pu-lu ši-i lu-ú šu-ka**
To exalt and to abase -- this shall be your power!
- 9) **lu-ú ki-na-at ši-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar zi-kar-ka**
Dependable shall be the utterance of your mouth, your
command shall not prove vain.

¹ Jin Sup Kim, in his Ph.D. thesis *BARAG in Sumerian Literature: A Study of Historical Semantics with Emphasis on its Referent and Cultural Function* (Annenberg Research Institute, 1991), argues that **parakku** is better translated as *adytum* (from the Greek, meaning "not to be entered"), i.e., the innermost room of a temple or shrine. Previous work has usually rendered **parakku** as a "dais," or "smaller structures upon which a throne could be placed to lift the seat of the king (or deity) above the level of its surroundings." (CAD D p. 166).

10) **ma-am-ma-an i-na ili i-tuk-ka la it-ti-iq**

None among the gods shall infringe upon your
prerogative."

....

14) **ni-id-din-ka šar-ru-tum kiš-šat kal gim-ri-e-ti**

"To you we have given kingship over the totality of the
whole universe,

15) **ti-šam-ma i-na pu-ḥur lu-ú ša-ga-ta a-mat-ka**

So that when you sit in the assembly, your word shall
be exalted."

Significance: Sitting (in a specific place, the **parakku**, as all the rest are seated) in the assembly marks a position of power in the meeting.

Note that the gods are clearly placing Marduk in a permanent kingship role over them: The text reads like a coronation ceremony! As his word is supreme, this divine assembly can no longer be (and perhaps never was) democratic in nature in the sense that the wishes of the majority will always be heeded.

Tablet V: From Landsberger and Kinnier-Wilson, **JNES 20**, p. 154ff; see also **ANET**, p.502 Supplement by A.K. Grayson.

85) **[pa]ḥ-ru-ma ʿigigi ka-li-šu-nu uš-kin-nu-uš**

Assembled were the Igigi, they prostrated before him
altogether,

- 86) ^[d]{a}-nun-na-ki ma-la ba-šu-u ú-na-áš-šá-qu
GIR^{II}.MEŠ-šú

The Anunnaki, as many as there were, kissed his feet;

- 87) [x x x]-{ma} pu-ḥur-šu-nu la-ba-niš ap-pi
[They came] in their entirety to pay him reverence, and
88) [maḥ-ri-š]u i-zi-zu ik-nu-šu an-na-ma LUGAL
Stood [before hi]m, did obeisance, (saying): He is

King!

..... Ea and Damkina speak to the Igigi:

- 111) šá-nu-u iz-zak-ru-ma iq-bu-u pu-ḥur-šu-un
They spoke, said all together:

- 112) ^dlugal-{dim}-me-er-an-ki-a zik-ra-šu šu-a-šú ti-ik-
la-šú

"Lugaldimmerankia shall be his name, trust only him!"

..... Marduk describing Babylon for the gods:

- 125) e-nu-ma ul-tu ZU.AB-i tel-la-a ana pu-[uḥ]-rum

"When you come up from the Apsu for assembly,

- 126) áš-ru-uš-šu lu-u nu-bat-ta-ku-un ana ma-ḥar pu-ḥur-
ku-un

You will spend the night therein. It is there to
receive all of you.²

² According to Landsberger and Wilson JNES 20 p. 178 n. 28, "This phrase cannot mean 'before your assembly' ... since not only is ana maḥar used regularly of place, not of time, but also such a meaning would require puḥrikun to be grammatically correct. The alternative is to read, not ana māḥar, but ana maḥār (infinitive construct), taking puḥurkun as its direct object. To common examples of puḥru in the sense of 'totality,' 'all' (cf. V, 87 and 121) may be added I, 153 where ina pu-ḥur ilī is 'amongst all the gods' rather than 'in the Assembly of the gods.'" [I do not agree with the analysis of I 153, as puḥur is there used in a clear

127) e-nu-ma ul-tu šá-ma-mi tur-r[a-da ana pu-u]ḫ-r[i]

When you descend from heaven for assembly,

128) áš-r[u-uš-šu] lu-u nu-bat-ta-ku-un ana ma-ḫar pu-ḫur-
ku-un

You will spend the night therein. It is there to
receive all of you.

Significance: Praise in the assembly; kissing of feet.
Overnight accommodations were provided for long-distance
travellers to an assembly.

Tablet VI: (following ANET p. 68-9)

18) ⁴AMAR.UD u-paḫ-ḫir-ma ilū rabūti

Marduk summoned the great gods to Assembly,

19) ṭa-bi-iš u-ma-'-ru i-nam-din te-er-ti

Ordering graciously, he issues instructions.

.....

67) ul-lu e-sag-ila i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu qar-na-a šu

After they had achieved the building of Esagila,

68) ⁴a-nun-na-ki šu-nu pa-rak-ki-šu-nu ib-taš-mu

All the Anunnaki erected their adytums.

69) {5 UŠ ⁴í-gì-gì šá šá-ma-[m]i u DIŠ+U šá ZU.AB
kali-šu-nu paḫ-ru}

The 300 Igigi from heaven and the Anunnaki from the
apsû, all of them gathered,

assembly context].

- 70) **be-lam ina paramaḥḥi šá ib-nu-u šu-bat-su**
The lord being on the lofty *adytum*³ which they had
built as his abode,
- 71) **ilū abê-šu qí-ri-ta-šu uš-te-šib**
The gods, his fathers, at his banquet he seated:
- 72) **an-nam ba-ab-i-li šu-bat na-ar-me-ku-un**
"This is Babylon, the place that is your home!
- 73) **nu-ga-a aš-ru-uš-šu ḥi-du-ta-šu taš-ba-a-ma**
Sing joyously in it, be sated with its pleasure."
- 74) **ú-ši-bu-ma ilū rabûti**
The great gods took their seats,
- 75) **zar-ba-bu iš-ku-nu ina qé-re-e-ti uš-bu**
They set up festive drink, sat down to a banquet.
- 76) **ul-lu ni-gu-tam iš-ku-nu qé-reb-šu**
After they had made merry within it,
-
- 80) **ilū rabûti ḥa-am-šat-su-nu u-ši-bu-ma**
The fifty great gods took their seats.
- 81) **ilū šimāti sibitti-šu-nu a-na 30.BAR uk-tin-nu**
The seven gods of destiny set up the 300
-
- 86) **iš-ši-ma ʿa-num ina puḥur ilū i-qab-bi**
Raising [the bow], Anu spoke up in the assembly of the
gods

³ Note that all the gods have their own *adytums*, but Marduk being the "most high god" has a **BARAG.MAḤ** = an elevated *adytum*.

Significance: The hierarchy of the assembly given here:
300 Igigi, 50 great gods, 7 gods of destiny, with Marduk at
the top.

- 139) ⁴LUGAL.DIM.ME.ER.AN.KI.A šum-šu ša nim-bu-u pu-ḥur-ni
Lugaldimmerankia is his name which we proclaimed in the
assembly.

.....

- 162) iḥ-du-ma ilū iš-mu-ú zi-kir-šu-un
Joyfully the gods did heed their command,
163) ina ub-šu-ukkin-na ki uš-ta-di-nu-šu-nu iš-qat-su-un
As in Ubšu-ukkin-na they exchanged counsels;
164) ša ma-ru qar-ra-du mu-tir gi-mil-li-ni
"Of the heroic son, our avenger,
165) ni-i-nu ša za-ni-ni i nu-ul-li šum-šu
Of our supporter we will exalt the name!"
166) ú-ši-bu-ma ina puḥri-šu-nu i-nam-bu-u ši-ma-a-te
They sat down in their assembly to fashion destinies,
167) ina mé-e-si nag-ba-šu-nu ú-zak-ki-ru-ni šum-šu
All of them uttering his name in the sanctuary.

Note that this ubšu-ukkin-na is in Babylon.

Tablet VII:

- 13) lu-ú šu-uš-qu-ú-ma ina unkin ilāni [AD.AD]-šu
Indeed he is supreme in the assembly of the gods his
fathers;

14) **ma-am-man ina ilāni šu-a-šu la um-[daš-šal-šu]**

No one among the gods is his eq[ual].

.....

37) **mu-kin unkin ša ilāni mu-ṭib lib-bi-šu-un**

[Marduk] The establiher of the assembly of the gods;

(who) gladdens their hearts,

38) **mu-kan-niš la ma-gi-ri n[in-lu-u]l-šu-un ra-ap-šu**

The subduer of the rebel; their wide-spread

[pro]tection,

39) **mu-še-šir kit-ti na-si-[iḫ] it-gu-ru da-ba-ba**

The administrator of justice, who roots [out] crooked

speech,

Sources: W. G. Lambert, **Enuma eliš: The Babylonian Epic of Creation**. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966) [Cuneiform text]; Stephen Langdon, **The Epic of Creation** (Oxford, 1923); E. A. Speiser in **ANET**. (lines above follow Lambert unless noted). R. Labat, **Le poeme babylonien de la creation (Enuma elish)** (Paris: 1935). Reviews in Labat, **OrNS** 56, p. 156f. Schott, **OLZ** 45, p. 165f. **DT** 41, which refers to the gods in their assembly creating the world, may be a fragment from *Enuma Eliš* (see P. Jensen, **Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek** 6/1 (1970 reprint) **Assyrisch-Babylonische Mythen und Epen**). Alexander Heidel, **The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels**, second edition (Chicago: 1949).

General articles: Jacobsen, **JAOS** 88, p. 104ff. Oppenheim, **Ancient Mesopotamia**, p. 264ff. Oppenheim, **OrNS** 16, p. 207ff. Luckenbill, **AJSL** 38, p. 12f. Gurney, **Afo** 17, p. 353f. Labat, **An. Bi.** 12, p. 205f.

2.1.2 Gilgamesh.

Date: 750 B.C. (Ashurbanipal, Nineveh), but goes back to OB and Sumerian source material.

Locus: Mesopotamian, story set in Uruk.

2.1.2.1 Assembly of the gods. Tablet XI:

118) ūmu(mu) ul-lu-u a-na ți-it-ți lu-u i-tur-ma

The olden days are alas turned to clay,

119) aš-šu a-na-ku ina pu-ḥur ilāni aqbu-u limutti

Because I spoke evil in the assembly of the gods.

120) ki-i aq-bi ina pu-ḥur ilāni limutti

How could I speak evil in the assembly of the gods,

121) ana ḥul-lu-uq nišē^{as}-ya qab-la aq-bi-ma

Ordering battle for the destruction of my people,

122) a-na-ku-um-ma ul-la-da ni-šu-u-a-a-ma

When it is I myself who give birth to my people?

Textual variants have *ma-ḥar* for *pu-ḥur* in lines 119-120.

However, we know from Atra-Hasis that a divine assembly was involved in bringing the flood, although it is not mentioned in the Gilgamesh Epic itself. Since the textual tradition behind this story originally viewed *puḥur* as a divine assembly, this is the better translation. As Gilgamesh developed independently of the fuller story, the *assembly* alluded to here became confused with the prepositional use of *puḥru*.

XI 161-198 contains some indirect references to the gods "assembling" around Utnapištu's sacrifice after the flood and to their "taking counsel" to decide what to do with him.

161) ilāni ki-ma zu-um-bi-e eli bēl niqē ip-taḥ-ru

The gods gathered like flies around the sacrificer
[Utnapištu]....

.....

197) e-nin-na-ma ana ka-a-ša man-nu ilāni u-paḥ-ḥa-rak-
kum-ma

But now, who will for your sake call the gods to
assembly

198) ba-la-ṭa ša tu-ba-'-u tu-ut-ta-a at-ta

That the (eternal) life which you seek you may find?

Conclusion: It would require divine action for Gilgamesh to
become immortal.

Source: R. C. Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Tablet XI
(Assyrian Version); E. A. Speiser, *ANET*; F. Malbran-Labat,
Gilgamesh; S. J. Lieberman, *Nippur: City of Decision in
Nippur at the Centennial*, ed. Maria deJong Ellis (1992),
p.131.

2.1.2.2 Civil assembly.

Tablet III (Gilgamesh and Huwawa). Yale Tablet Column IV:
him from going.

36) ^[d]GIŠ u ^dEN.KI.DU 10 biltu^{ta-a-an} ša-ak-nu

Gilgamesh and Enkidu were each laden with ten talents.

37) [ina a-bu]-ul-la š[a Ur]uk^{ki} 7 i-di-il-šu

[In the] gate of Uruk, whose bolts are seven,

38) []-ma um-ma-nu ip-ḥu-ra

[] the populace gathered.

39) []-a i-na sūqi ša Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim

[] in the street of broad-marted Uruk.

40) []-šu ^dGIŠ

[] Gilgamesh.

- 42) [š*i*-bu-tum ša Uruk^{ki}] ri-bi-tim
[the elders] of board-marted [Uruk].
- 43) [uš]-ša-ab i-na maḥ-ri-šu
[] sat down before him.
- 44) [i-g]a-ab-bi
[Sp]eaking [....]
- 45) []-bi-tim
"[....] of broad-marted [Uruk]."
- [Gilgamesh proposes to go and conquer Huwawa.]
- 7) š*i*-bu-tum ša Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
The elders of broad-marted Uruk
- 8) zi-ik-ra u-ti-ir-ru a-na ^dGIŠ
Said to Gilgamesh in reply:
- 9) ṣi-iḥ-ri-ti-ma ^dGIŠ libbi-ka na-ši-ka
"You are yet young, Gilgamesh, your heart has carried
you away."
- [The elders try to discourage him from going....]
- 20) iš-me-e-ma ^dGIŠ zi-ki-ir ma-li-[ki]-šu
When Gilgamesh heard this speech of his counsellors,
- 21) ip-pa-al-za-am-ma i-ṣi-iḥ a-na ib-[ri-šu]
He looked around, smiling, towards [his] friend:
- 22) i-na-an-na ib-[ri] ki-a-am []
"Now, my friend, thus [...] (rest of speech
destroyed).

Column I of a fragment of the Assyrian version (which
parallels the Babylonian version above starting at VI 19)
further mentions the elders:

- 1) [ši-bu-tum pā-šu-nu epušu-ma izakkaru(ru) iqabbū
ana ^dGilgameš]

[The elders opened their mouths, saying to Gilgamesh]:

- 2) [l]a ta-tak-kil ^dGilgameš a-na gi-mir e-mu-q[i-ka]

"Trust not, Gilgamesh, in all your own strength.

..... Further cautions.....

- 9) ^dEN.KI.DU ib-ri li-iš-šur tap-pa-a li-šal-lim

Enkidu will protect the friend, safeguard the
companion.

- 10) a-na šēri ḥi-ra-a-ti pa-gar-šu lib-la

Over the pitfalls he shall carry his body!

- 11) i-na pu-uḥ-ri-ni-ma ni-ip-qi-dak-ka šarru

We, the assembly, entrust the King to you.

- 12) tu-tar-ram-ma ta-paq-qi-dan-na-ši šarru

Deliver the King back to us!"

Note that the elders refer to themselves as an assembly who gives advice to Gilgamesh. This feature is absent in the Sumerian version.

2.1.2.3 Non-technical use.

Gilgamesh meets Utnapištu, and asks him:

- XI 7) [qi-ban-ni] ki-i ta-az-ziz-ma ina puḥur ilāni
ba-la-ṭa taš-u

"[Tell me], how did you join the assembly of the gods,
in your quest for life?"

Notes: *Join* is Speiser's translation of *izuzzu*, more literally "to stand," "stay," "remain." (ANET p. 93).

Assembly is used here as a class-noun, and does not refer to a technical gathering. The question here is how Utnapištu obtained god *status* (i.e., immortality), not membership in a governing body.

Tigay, p.133, 294n, notes variants where **maḥar** replaces **puḥur** in a prepositional use. In such cases "in the assembly of" means merely "in the presence of." Also, von Soden notes a situation in an apparent fragment from Gilgameš Tablet X col. IV l. 4, where **puḥrum** used in sense of "together, jointly." (**ZA 58** (1967), p. 188ff).

Sources: The citations and translations above follow Speiser in **ANET**, the transcriptions follow Thompson. Tigay, **Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic**, gives a full listing of the major texts on pp. 304-306. Of the many articles in his bibliography none appear to cover the civil assembly of tablet 3 while the flood assemblies are covered under Atrahasis. Borger, **HKL** also lists no references to tablet 3.

2.1.3 Atra-Hasis.

Date: MB (1200-750 BC) with Sumerian background.

The first section is probably the largest single ancient passage which shows two assemblies at work. In Tablet I, we find the Igigi gods (who are called "the sons of Enlil" in several places) in service to the 7 great Anunnaki gods. The Igigi become fed up with the working conditions and surround Enlil's residence at night to protest their plight. Enlil calls a meeting with Anu and

Enki:

103) **ra-bu-tum** ^a**a-nun-[na(-ku) w]a-aš-bu**

With the great Anunnaki present

104) ^a**en-líl** **it-bi-ma** **ša** [. . .]⁴**-di/ki-nu**

Enlil arose and

105) ^a**en-líl** **pí-a-šu** **i-[pu-ša-a]m-ma**

Enlil opened his mouth

106) **is-sà-gar** **a-n[a i-li ra-b]u-tim**

And addressed the great [gods].

They decide to send out the vizier Nusku to inquire of the Igigi what the problem is. They instruct him as follows:

122) **i-na pu-úh-ri** [**ka-la i-li-ma**]

In the assembly of [all the gods]

123) **ki-mi-is** **i-zi-i[z]-ni**

Bow down, stand up, [and repeat to them] our [words]:

124) **iš-pu-ra-an-ni** [**a-bu-ku-nu**] **a-nu**

"Anu, [your father],

Note that the "assembly of the Igigi" is the mob gathered around the temple of Enlil. Nusku takes his weapons!

In response to the complaints of the Igigi, the Anunnaki gods decide to create man in order to do the tasks the Igigi had been doing.

⁴ Lambert and Millard conjecture that this line can be reconstructed as **ša-[šum uš]-ki-nu**, "they bowed down to him" (p. 151). Von Soden (*OrNS* 38 [1969], p. 423) suggests restoring **ša-[ki-in] di-nu**, "the (law-)court was convened."

192) **il-ta-am is-sú-ú i-ša-lu**

They summoned and asked the goddess,

193) **tab-sú-ut ilī^{meš} e-ri-iš-tam ^dma-mi**

The midwife of the gods, wise Mami,

194) **at-ti-i-ma šà-as-sú-ru ba-ni-a-{at} a-wi-lu-ti**

"You are the birth-goddess, creatress of mankind,

195) **bi-ni-ma lu-ul-la-a li-bi-il, ab-ša-nam**

Create *Lullû* [mankind] that he may bear the yoke,"

Mami asks for help from Enki, who proposes how man should be made. After he explains his method,

218) **i-na pu-úh-ri i-pu-lu a-an-na**

In the assembly (they) answered "Yes"

219) **ra-bu-tum ^da-nun-na / 220) pa-qí-đu ši-ma-ti**

The great Anunnaki, / who administer destinies.

221) **i-na ar-ḫi se-bu-ti ù ša-pa-at-ti**

On the first, seventh, and fifteenth day of the month

222) **te-li-il-tam ú-ša-aš-{ki}-in ri-im-ka**

He made a purifying bath.

223) **^dwe-e-i-la ša i-šu-{ú} te₄-e-ma**

Wê-ila, who had personality,

224) **i-na pu-úh-ri-šu-nu iṭ-ṭa-ab-ḫu**

they slaughtered in their assembly.

Mami mixes the slaughtered god's blood with clay to make the hybrid starting material for man:

231) **iš-tu-ma ib-lu-la ṭi-ṭa ša-{ti}**

After she had mixed that clay

232) is-si ⁴a-nun-na i-li ra-bu-{ti}

She summoned the Anunnaki, the great gods.

233) ⁴i-gi-gu i-lu ra-bu-tum

The Igigi, the great gods,

234) ru-u'-tam id-đu-ú e-lu ți-iț-ți

Spat upon the clay.

235) [⁴m]a-mi pí-a-ša te-pu-ša-am-ma

Mami opened her mouth

236) [is-s]à-qar a-na i-li ra-bu-tim

And addressed the great gods,

Mami explains that she has made man to "establish freedom" from work for the gods.

244) iš-mu-ma an-ni-a-am qá-ba-ša

They heard this speech of hers,

245) id-da-ar-ru-ma ú-na-aš-ši-qu še-pi-ša

They ran together and kissed her feet, (saying,)

246) pa-na-mi ⁴ma-mi ni-ša-si-ki

"Formerly we used to call you Mami,

247) i-na-an-na be-le-[et] ka-la i-li / 248) lu-ú š[u-um]-ki

Now let your name be Mistress-of-All-the-Gods."

Significance: Voting (218) [cf. x rev. ii 45 below] and probable judgment/killing (224) in the assembly (The reason why Wê-ila is singled out to be killed is not given).

After "1200 years" (S iv 1) mankind has multiplied to the point where they begin to annoy Enlil (following the Assyrian recension S iv):

- 4) [^de]n-líl il-ta-kan pu-ḥur-š[u]

Enlil convened his assembly,

- 5) [iz-z]a-ka-ra a-na ilāni^{ms} mārē^{ms}-šu

He spoke to the gods his sons,

- 6) [ik]-tab-ta-m[a r]i-gi-im a-me-lu-te

"The noise of mankind has become too intense for me...."

Compare also line 37. The gods decide to send a plague on mankind to "diminish their noise." Atra-hasis inquires of Enki and is told how to avert the plague.

- 385) 'at-ra-am-ḥa-si-is il-{qí-a} te-er-tam

Atra-hasis received the command

- 386) šī-bu-ti ú-pa-aḥ-ḥi-ir a-{na} ba-bi-šu

And gathered the elders to his gate.

Atra-hasis tells them how to avert the plague. They then inform the people via heralds to carry out the required action (sacrificing to the specific god who is troubling them).

Significance: Although this is never explicitly called an assembly, the verbal form is used. Note that the elders meet at the gate to Atra-hasis' house.⁵ Cf. Moran, *Biblica*

⁵ That "gate" here refers to that of a house, not of a city, compare *The Sultantepe Tablets. V. The Poor Man of Nippur*, O. R. Gurney, *AS 6* p. 145-62, line 6: "The friends at my gate will hear of it and will be angry." After Gimil-Ninurta says that he will go "to the house of the Mayor" (line 21), the narrator says that he "proceeded to the gate of the Mayor of Nippur" (line 24). The Mayor has a gate-keeper (¹⁶ātû) to whom Gimil-Ninurta speaks, and who tells the Mayor that someone is "waiting at your gate" (line 28). Frequent references to the gate of the Mayor's house

52, p. 54f (for l. 376-383); OrNS 38, p. 537f.

Tablet II.

ii 14') Fragmentary, but it appears that the gods next send draught upon mankind, and Atra-hasis learns from Enki how to avert it and tells the elders.

Following a large break, the text resumes:

v 14) **ra-bu-tum-mi** 'a-n[un-na ka-lu-ni]

[All we] great Anunnaki

v 15) **ub-la pí-i-ni iš-ti-[ni-iš ur-tam]**

Decided together [on a rule].

Apparently the gods are upset that Enki keeps telling Atra-hasis (and through him the rest of mankind) how to avert the plagues that the gods were putting on them.

The next scheme to kill off mankind is being planned (cutting off grain), when Enki gets disruptive:⁶

vi 15) [i-lu]-ma i-ta-šu-uš a-ša-ba-am

[The god] got fed up with sitting,

vi 16) [i-n]a pu-úh-ri ša i-li ši-iḥ-tum i-ku-ul-šu

in the assembly of the gods laughter overcame him.

vi 17-18) repeats lines 15-16, and unfortunately the next lines are fragmentary. After a long break, we resume in the next column (vii):

continue throughout the narrative.

⁶ Draffkorn here sees Enki becoming increasingly alienated from the destructive intent of rest of the assembly.

38-39) i n[u-t]a-am-MU-NI (*sic*) ma-áš-x / ^den-ki ni-iš-
š[i-ka]

Let us bind prince Enki .. [...] by an oath."

40) ^den-ki pí-a-šu i-pu-[ša-am-ma]

Enki opened his mouth

41) is-sà-qar a-na i-[li aḥ-ḥi-šu]

And addressed the gods [his brothers],

42) a-na mi-nim tu-ta-am-ma-n[i ...]

"Why will you bind me with an oath [...]?"

43) ú-ub-ba-al qá-ti a-na n[i-ši-ya-ma]

Am I to lay hands on [my own peoples]?

Enki asks that the gods wanting to bring the flood do so themselves, rather than have him do it. Turning to the Babylon fragment 1804, BE 39099 (x) rev. ii to fill in the story line:

44) [^den]-líl pa-a-šú i-pu-uš-ma i-qab-bi

Enlil opened his month to speak

45) [a]-na pu-ḥur ka-la ilī^{nes} iz-za-kár

And addressed the assembly of all the gods,

46) [a]l-ka-ni ka-la-ni a-na ma-mi-tú a-bu-bi

"Come, all of us, and take an oath to bring a flood."

47) ^da-nam i-na pa-ni {ta}-mu-ni

Anu swore first;

48) ^den-líl it-ta-mi mārē^{nes}-šú it-ti-šú ta-mu-ni

Enlil swore, his sons swore with him. [tablet ends]

Note parallel here: "Assembly" parallels "the gods his sons." Oath/voting done in rank order.

Following the flood, the gods regret their action. Mami, the female god who assisted Enki in creating mankind, laments in III iii:

36) a-na-ku i-na pu-úh-ri ša {i}-[li]

In the assembly of the gods

37) ki-i aq-[bi] (38)/ it-ti-šu-nu ga-me-er-ta-a[m]

How did I, with them, command total destruction?

39) ʿen-líl id-pí-ra ú-ša-aq-bi bi-i-[ša]

Enlil has had enough of bringing about an evil command,

40) ki-ma ti-ru-ru šu-a-t[i] (41)/ ú-ša-as-ḫi bi-i-š[a]

like that Tiruru, he uttered abominable evil.

42) a-na ra-ma-ni-ya ù pa-ag-ri-y[a]

As a result of my own choice

43) i-na se-ri-ya-ma ri-gi-im-ši-na eš-me

And to my own hurt I have listened to their noise.

44) e-le-nu-ya ki-ma zu-ub-bi (45)/ i-wu-ú li-il-li-ḫu

My offspring -- cut off from me -- have become like flies!

In III vi lines 7ff, Enki admits to having broken the oath made in the assembly of the Anunnaki by directing Atra-hasis to escape the flood. After a fragmentary section,

41) [ʿen-líl p]í-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma

Enlil opened his mouth

- 42) [is-sà]-gar a-na ^den-ki ni-iš-ši-ki
And addressed Enki the prince,
- 43) [ga-na sa-a]s-sú-ra ^dnin-tu ši-si-ma
"[Come], summon Nintu, the birth-goddess,
- 44) [at-t]a ù ši-i mi-it-li-ka i-na pu-uḫ-ri
[You] and she, confer in the assembly"

Enki and Nintu then figure out several means to reduce the live birth rate so that the human population will not be so overwhelming in the future.

Source: Lambert and Millard, *The Atra-Hasis Epic*.

Reviews: Aro, *ZA* 61, p. 174f. Hruška, *BiOr* 27, p. 27f.
Matouš, *ArOr* 38, p. 74f. Moran, *Biblica* 52, p. 51f.
Pettinato, *OrAnt* 9, p. 75f. Renger, *JNES* 32, p. 342f.

Significant articles on the text: Draffkorn-Kilmer, *OrNS* 40, p. 97f; 41, pp. 160-77. Lambert, *OrNS* 38, pp. 533-538 and 40, pp. 95-98. Matouš, *ArOr* 35, pp. 1-16 and 37, pp. 1-7, 148. Moran, *BASOR* 200, p. 48ff. Pettinato, *OrNS* 37 pp. 165-200; *Menschenbild*, p. 101ff. Schrader, *KAT3*, p. 497 Anm. 3. Siegelova, *ArOr* 38, pp. 135-139 (Hittite fragment). Von Soden, *CRRA* 17, pp. 142-146 and *OrNS* 38, pp. 415-432, 39, pp. 311-314 and 40, pp. 99-101.

2.2 Wisdom Literature.

2.2.1 The Tamarisk and the Palm.

In the introduction to the dispute, the following background is told:

- 3) puḫra iš-ku-nu ilāni^{meš} mātāte^{meš} ^da-nu ^denlil(BE) ^dé-a
The gods of the lands, Anu, Enlil, and Ea, convened an assembly.

- 4) ^de[n-lí]l u ì-lì id-da-al-gu
Enlil and the gods took counsel,
- 5) ina be-er-šu-nu a-ši-be ^dšá-maš
In their midst Šamaš was seated,
- 6) KIMIN i-it-til-la-at ilāni^{meš} rabītu us-{ba}-at
In their midst was seated the great lady of the gods.
- 7) ina pāna^{na} šar-ru-tu ina mātāti^{meš} ul ba-ši
Formerly kingship did not exist in the lands,
- 8) u be-lu-tu a-na ilāni^{meš} šar-ka-at
And the rule was given to the gods.
- 9) giš.X.meš šarru(man) ilāni^{meš} ra-mu-ni-šu
- 10) ša-lam sag.meš iq-bu-ni-šu
Lambert labels lines 9-10 as "untranslatable."
- 11) šarru(man) ina ēkalli^{li}-šu
The king in his palace
- 12) e-za-qa-ap ^{giš}gišimmari^{me}
Planted the Palm

Significance: the leaders (male/female) of the assembly are seated *in the midst* (ina be-er-šu-nu) of the other members. This reference to the divine assembly is not present in earlier versions.

Source: VAT 8830 l.3f [BWL, p. 162f] (MA > OB) Cf. Landsberger, *Date palm*, pp. 22, 29; ANET pp. 592-3.

2.2.2 Advice to a Prince.

23) sippar^{ki} nippuru^{ki} u bābilu(din.tir.ki)

mithāriš(ur.bi.ta) ušatbi(zi!-bi)

If he mobilized the whole of Sippar, Nippur, and
Babylon,

24) šābī(erín.meš) šu-nu-tì tup-ši-ik-ka e-me-da-am

and imposed forced labor on the people,

25) il-ki ši-si-it ¹⁶na-gi-ri e-li-šú-nu ú-kan-nu

exacting from them corvée at the herald's proclamation,

26) ⁴marduk apkal ilī^{meš} rubû muš-ta-lum

Marduk, the sage of the gods, the prince, the
counselor,

27) māt-su a-na ¹⁶nakri-šú ú-saḥ-ḥar-ma

will turn his land over to his enemy,

28) ummāni(erín-ni) māti-šu tup-ši-ik-ka a-na ¹⁶nakri-

šú i-za-bil

so that the troops of his land will do forced labor for
his enemy,

29) šābī(erín.meš) šú-nu-tì ⁴a-num ⁴en-líl u ⁴é-a ilī

(dingir.dingir) rabûti(gal.gal)

for Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods,

30) a-ši-bi šamê u erṣeti ina pu-uḥ-ri-šú-nu šu-ba-ra-

šú-nu ú-kin-nu

who dwell in heaven and earth, in their assembly
affirmed the freedom of those people from such
obligations.

Since the divine assembly has affirmed the freedom of Sippar, etc. from forced labor, the king cannot violate this without fear of sanction.

Source: DT 1, pl. 31-2 [BWL p. 110] (MA) Cf. Labat, *Religions*, p. 316f. Diajakonov, *AS* 16, p. 343f. Lambert, *JAOS* 88, p. 124. Oppenheim, *Anc. Mes.* pp. 224, 368, Anm. 64. Reiner, *OrNS* 30, p. 9.

2.2.3 Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi.

- 80) su-qa a-ba-'a-ma tur-ru-ša ú-ba(!)-na-a-ti
If I walk the street, fingers are pointed at me.
- 81) er-ru-ub ēkal-liš i-ša-pu-ra i-na-a-ti
If I enter the palace, eyes blink.
- 82) āli-i₁, ki-i a-a-bi ni-kil-man-ni
My city frowns on me as an enemy;
- 83) tu-šá-ma nak-ra-ti na-an-du-ur-tú ma-a-ti
Indeed my land is savage and hostile.
- 84) a-na a-ḫi-i a-ḫi i-tu-ra
My friend has become a foe,
- 85) a-na lem-ni u gal-le-e i-tu-ra ib-ri
My companion has become a wretch and a devil.
- 86) na-al-bu-bu tap-pe-e ú-nam-gar-an-ni
In his savagery my comrade denounces me,
- 87) ki-na-a-ti qaḡ-dà-a ú-mar-ras-s[u] ^{giš}kakkī^{mes}
Constantly my associates furbish their weapons.
- 88) ru-ù'-a ṭa-a-bi ú-kar-r[i]? na-piš-ti
My intimate friend has brought my life into danger;

- 89) šu-piš ina {puḫri i}-ru-ra-ni ar-di
My slave has publicly cursed me in the assembly.
- 90) bi-ti mu/ik x x an um-ma-ni ta-pil-ti iq-bi
My house ..., the mob has defamed me.
- 91) i-mu-ra-ni-ma m[u-d]u-u šá-ḫa-ti i-mid
When my acquaintance sees me, he passes by on the other side.

Source: BWL p. 34 (Cassite). ANET p. 596f has additional material and emends BWL's reading of line 80.

2.2.4 Counsels of Wisdom.

- 31) ina pu-uḫ-ri e ta'-ir ú-zu-uz-za
Do not frequent an assembly,
- 32) a-šar šal-tim-ma e tu-ut-tag-ge-eš
Do not loiter where there is a dispute,
- 33) ina šal-tim-ma i-ra-áš-šu-ka šim-ta
For in the dispute they will have you as a testifier,
- 34) ū at-ta a-na šī-bu-ti-šú-nu taš-šak-kin-ma
Then you will be made their witness
- 35) a-na la di-ni-ka ub-ba-lu-ka a-na kun-ni
And they will bring you to a lawsuit not your own to affirm.
- 36) ina pa-an šal-tim-ma pu-ṭur e tak-pu-ud
When confronted with a dispute, go your away; pay no attention to it.
- 37) lu-u šal-ta-ka-ma na-pi-iḫ-ta bul-li
Should it be a dispute of your own, extinguish the flame!

38) *ṣal-tu-um-ma ṣu-ut-ta-tum še-ṭi-tum*

Disputes are a covered pit,

39) *du-ú-ru ab-ru mu-kāt-ti-t[i] ga-ri-š[ú]*

A strong wall that scares away its foes.

A warning not to loiter around an assembly or to get involved in disputes. While most take this as referring to a civil or judicial assembly (Lambert translates *puḫru* here as "law court"), the author feels that it applies to avoiding joining the spontaneous throng of on-lookers that gathers around any heated public quarrel (see discussion).

Source: *BWL* pp. 97, 100 (Cassite). Cf. Labat, *Religions*, p. 346f; *ANET* p. 596f.

2.2.5 Series of the Fox.

6) {e}-te-riš ka la [a] ki mu maš re e ti ki-ma zi-
it-te elleti^{ti} zi-ti [...]

I asked .. [...] .. Like a pure portion, my portion [...]

7) {ù} e-nin-na-ma at-ta-ṣi-ma ag-da-me-il na-pu-uš-
[te-ka]

And now I have departed and spared [your] life,

8) {ù} a-na-ku ina pu-ḫur ki-im-ti-ya u el-la-a-te-
ya ^{udu}niqâ lu-qí

And I will offer a sacrifice with all my kith and kin.

9) [i]z-qur-šu-nu-ti-ma kal-bu bar-ba-ru u ša-a-[šu]
[He] called them, the Dog, the Wolf, and ...[.]

The broken text refers to offering a sacrifice with all of his [presumably the Fox's?] relatives present. Perhaps this is an assembly gathered in worship, or simply a prepositional usage of *puḫru*. Compare CT 13 34:8 (SB fable of the spider) *ša ina puḫru kimtiya* and BWL 46:119 (Ludlul II) *ša gimir kimtiya*. (No citations of *puḫru* in close context with *niqû* are noted in CAD).

Source: VAT 13836, with Assur S6814. BWL p. 192 (OB or Cassite).

2.2.6 Series of the Willow.

- 4) *i-na ki-ši û!* (tablet LU) *a-p[i ...*

In reed-bed and thicket [...

- 5) *at-ta-ma lid-di-x [...*

You ... [...

- 6) *lu ṣab-ta-ta bīt ḫi-im-x [...*

. [...

- 7) *ina pu-ḫur kul-la-ti x [...*

In the sum of everything . [...

- 8) *mu-ḫal-liq ma-'-du x [...*

Destroyer of much . [...

- 9) *lil-lum šá iṣṣī^{mes} [...*

The idiot of the trees [...

Used in broken context in the sense of "all" or "gathering".

Source: K 8566+13771, BWL pp. 164-5, (no date).

2.2.7 *Theodicy.*

265) ú-taq-qam-ma ib-ri li-mađ šī-ib-qí-ya

Pay attention, my friend, understand my ideas.

266) ú-ṣur nu-us-su-qa sè-kar at-mé-e-{a}

Heed the choice expression of my words.

267) ú-šá-áš-qu-ú a-mat kab-tu šá lit-mu-da šá-ga-š[á]

People extol the word of a strong man who is trained in
murder,

268) ú-šap-pal dun!-na-ma-a šá la i-šu-{ú} ḥi-bi[l-ta]

But bring down the powerless who has done no wrong.

269) ú-ka-an-nu rag-ga šá an-zil-la-šú ki[t-tu]

They confirm (the position of) the wicked for whom what
should be an abomination is considered right,⁷

270) ú-ṭa-ra-du ki-i-nu šá ṭè-em ili pu-u[q-qu]

Yet suppress the honest man who heeds the will of his
god.

271) ú-{ma}-lu-ú pa-šal-lu šá ḥab-bi-lu ni-[ṣir?-ta?]

They fill the [store house] of the oppressor with gold,

272) ú-raq-qa iš-pik-ku šá pi-iz-nu-qu ti'-ut-[su]

But empty the larder of the beggar of its provisions.

273) ú-da-na-an šal-ṭu šá pu-ḥur-šú an-n[u]?

They support the powerful, whose assembly is guilt,

274) ú-la-la ib-ba-tu i-ḍar-ri-is-su la le-e-[a]

But destroy the weak and drive away the powerless.

⁷ Following ANET p. 604, and reading proposed in CAD s.v. anzillu.

275) **ú ya-a-ši it-nu-šu bēl pa-ni ri-dan-n[u]**

And as for me, the penurious, a nouveau riche is
persecuting me.

Refers to people or gods who support the overbearing "whose
assembly (has) gu[ilt]" (Broken line).

Sources: **BWL** p. 87; **ZA** 43 p. 68, Craig **ABRT** 1 51:39. Cf.
Labat, **Religions**, p. 320f. **ANET**, p. 601. Buccellati, **OrAnt**
11, p. 161ff. Von Soden, **MDOG** 96, p. 51f (1000 BC, Assur
and Babylon). Reviews of **BWL**: Aro, **OLZ** 56, p. 489f.
Borger, **JCS** 18, p. 49f. Deller, **Afo** 20, p. 166f, 21, p.
117f. Frankena, **BiOr** 19, p. 162f. Gurney, **JSS** 7, p. 100f.
Saggs, **BSOAS** 26, p. 649f.

2.3 Legal/administrative.

2.3.1 Code of Hammurabi # 5 = Via lines 6-30. (OB)

6) **šum-ma da-a-a-nu-um (7)/ di-nam i-di-in**

If a judge has tried a suit,

8) **pu-ur-sà-am (9)/ ip-ru-ús**

given a decision,

10) **ku-nu-uk-kam (11)/ ú-še-zi-ib**

caused a sealed tablet to be executed,

12) **wa-ar-ka-|nu-um-ma (13)/ di-in-šu i-te-ni**

(and) afterwards varies his judgment,

14) **da-a-a-nam šu-a-ti (15)/ i-na di-in | i-di-nu**

that judge they shall convict of

16) **e-ne-im (17)/ ú-ka-an-nu-šu-ma**

varying his judgment, and

18) **ru-gu-um-ma-am (19)/ ša i-na di-nim | šu-a-ti**

the claim which that suit

- 20) **ib-ba-aš-šu-ú** (21)/ **A.RÁ-12-šu**
had, 12-fold
- 22) **i-na-ad-di-in** (23)/ **ù i-na pu-úḫ-ri-im**
he shall pay, and in the assembly
- 24) **i-na** ^{giš}**GU.ZA** (25)/ **da-a-a-nu-ti-šu**
from the seat of his judging
- 26) **ú-še-it-bu-ú-šu-ma** (27)/ **ú-ul i-ta-ar-ma**
they shall remove him and he shall not return, and
- 28) **it-ti da-a-a-ni** (29)/ **i-na di-nim**
with the judges in judgment
- 30) **ú-ul uš-ta(!)-ab**
he shall not sit.

2.3.2 Code of Hammurabi # 202 = XVIIb 75-81. (OB)

- 75) **šum-ma a-wi-lum** (76)/ **a-wi-lim** (77)/ **ša e-li-šu**
ra-bu-ú
If a man / a man / greater than himself
- 78) **im-ta-ḫa-aš** (79)/ **i-na pú-uḫ-ri-im** (80)/ **i-na** ^{su}**USAN**
GUD
strikes, / in the assembly / with a whip of ox-hide
- 81) **1 šu-ši im-ma-ḫa-aš**
sixty stripes he shall be beaten.

Source: G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, **The Babylonian Laws II** (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960). Recent discussion of CH is found in A. Finet, **Le code de Hammurapi** (Paris: 1983).

2.3.3 Nbk 104 (n. 15, 84-2-11)

11) ¹⁶mu-kin-nu PN₁ (12)/ a-šu šá PN₂

Witnesses: PN₁, son of PN₂;

13) PN₃ a-šu šá PN₄

PN₃, son of PN₄;

14) ù pu-uḫ-ru šá ¹⁶ši-bu-tum šá ^dUD

and the assembly of the elders of Šamaš,

15) u ¹⁶ŠID⁸ PN₅

with the scribe PN₅

The witness list for this legal dispute (involving the Šamaš temple) includes "the assembly of the elders of Šamaš."

Source: J. Kohler & F.E. Peiser, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben* (Leipzig, 1890), IV p. 84f. Text in J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor* (Leipzig, 1889), # 104 (NB).

General legal sources: Boecker, H. J. *Law and the Administration of Justice in the Old Testament and Ancient East* (Minneapolis). See his bibliography for further sources.

2.4 Letters/economic.

2.4.1 OB letter. BM 80318 (Sippar)

30) [tup]-pa-ti-ya a-na(?) pu-uḫ-ri-im al-qí-a-am

I took my tablets to the assembly,

31) ¹Ri-iš-^dŠamaš wa-ši-ib UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} Ku-di-ya

GU.ZA.LÁ

Riš-Šamaš, the "Resident" of Sippar, Kudiya the "sedan-bearer"

⁸ According to Borger, AOAT 33/33A ¹⁶ŠID can be read as *sanga* = *šangû* (priest) or as *umbisag* = *tupšarru* (scribe). Given the context, the scribe is probably identifying himself here.

- 32) ù ¹Sīn-na-di-in-šu-mi DUB.SAR ZAG-GA
and Sin-nadin-šumi, the cadastral secretary,
- 33) tup-pa-ti-ya i-mu-ru ik-nu-ku-ma
reviewed my tablets and sealed (Finkelstein: affirmed)
them.
- 34) a-na Ša-lim-ṭe₄-eḫ-ḫu-šu UGULA.ŠU.I^{nos}
To Šalim-ṭehhušu the "Captain of Barbers"
- 35) a-na É^{ti}-šu ú-ša-bi-lu-šum-ma
to his house they sent them.
- 36) ¹Ša-lim-ṭe₄-eḫ-ḫu-šu UGULA.ŠU.I^{nos}
Šalim-ṭehhušu the "Captain of Barbers"
- 37) ba-lum-ma ša-ap-ti-ya iš-mu-ú
without giving me a hearing
- 38) i-na UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} i-na É na-ap-ṭa-ri-šu
in Sippar, in his *bīt napṭarim*
- 39) tup-pa-ti-ya iḫ-pí-ma
broke my tablets.
- 40) iq-bu-nim ap-pí aq-ḏu-ud ḫu-pé-e tup-pí-ya
Upon being informed, and in consternation, the pieces
of my tablets
- 41) i-na É^{ti}-šu al-qí-a-am-ma
from his house I collected and
- 42) ¹Ri-iš-^dŠamaš Ku-di-ya ù XXX-na-di-in-šu-mi
(to) Riš-Šamaš, Kudiya, and Sin-nadin-šumi
- 43) ú-ka-al-lim-šu-nu-ti-ma
I showed them.

44) um-ma šu-nu-ma ni-nu a-na UGULA.ŠU.I^{mes}

But they (said), "What to the 'Captain of Barbers'

45) mi-na-a-am ni-qá-ab-bi

can we say?"

Land-right appeal to the king. Members of assembly verify the deed tablets but feel they cannot overrule the actions of a prominent opponent.

Source: J. J. Finkelstein, *Some New Misharum Material and its Implications*, AS 16 (Landsberger Festschrift), pp. 233-246.

2.4.2 OB letter CT IV 1,2 (BM 78176) 1.21, 1.51 (Sippar)

13) da-ba-ab-šú an-ni-a-am šá i-na ūmi^{mi}-šú id-b[u]-bu

This his statement, which he spoke at that time,

14) ya-di-ri mār is-si-^dda-gan ù VI šābu mārū^{mes} ḥa-na-at^{ki}

reported Yadirī, the son of Issi-Dagan, and 6 people from Hanat,

15) šá da-ba-ba-am an-ni-a-am i-na šá-ap-ti-šú iš-mu-ú

that this statement from his own mouth they had heard,

16) a-na zi-im-ri-ḥa-na-ta akil amurrim iq-bu-ú

to Zimri-hanata, the Amorite leader.

17) ¹zi-im-ri-ḥa-na-ta akil amurrim da-ba-ba-am šú-a-tu

Zimri-hanata, the Amorite leader, brought that speech

18) a-na ^dsīn-i-ki-šá-am šá-pí-ir su-ḥi^{ki} ub-lam

to the attention of Sin-iqisam, the commander from Suhi.

- 19) ^{1d}sîn-i-ki-šá-am šá-pí-ir su-ḫi^{ki} iš-pu-ur
Sin-igisam, the commander from Suhi, had
- 20) ¹zi-im-ri-ḫa-am-mu šú-a-tu ù šī-bi-šú il-ku-nim
this Zimri-hammu and his witnesses summoned.
- 21) iš-tu da-ba-bu šú-ú i-na pu-úḫ-ri ub-ti-ir-ru
After the statement was proved in the assembly,
- 22) a-na bīt ^dya-ab-li-ya a-na bu-úr-ri il-ku-šú-nu-ti
they took them to the temple of Yabliya for
establishing [the truth].⁹
- 23) iš-tu i-na bīt ^dya-ab-li-ya da-ba-ba an-ni-a ú-ki-
in-nu
After this statement was established in the temple of
Yabliya,
- 24) a-wi-lum ^dsîn-i-ki-šá-am a-na ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-tim ip-ki-
is-su
the lord (lit. man) Sin-ikisam handed him [Zimri-hammu]
over for detention.

.....

- 40) a-na šá i-na pa-ni ḫi-ṭi-šú-nu iḫ-[x x ...]
for which in view of their offense
- 41) ú-ul iš-ḫu-tu ú-ul i-ḏu-ru da-ba-ab-š[ú]
they did not fear or respect his statement.
- 42) i-na da-ba-bi-šú-nu um-ma šú-nu-ma
In their statement they also (said):
- 43) a-na da-ba-bi an-ni-i ú-ul ta-áš-ta-al-la-a
For this statement you will not take booty?

⁹ See CAD B s.v. bâru, p. 128.

- 44) i-na bāb-íli^{ki} a-na du-um-mu-qí-ku-nu mi-nu qí-iš-
ta-ku-nu

What is your reward for your good deeds (done for the
king) in Babylon?

- 45) ù ni-a-ti šá a-na ħi-ṭi tu-ka-al-la-ni-a-ti
and us, whom you consider (as having committed) a
crime,

- 46) ma-an-nu mi-na-ni il-qé
who took our number?

- 47) i-na da-ba-bi-šú-nu ù ma-gal ši-it-mu-ri-šú-nu an-
ni-i

With their talking and (with) this, their tremendous
rage

- 48) ma-am-ma-an i-[r]a-as-zu-nu la tu [x ...] ri
could no one their impetuosity

- 49) pí-i-šú-nu a-[šar i]š-te-en iš-ku-nu-ma
They made an agreement, and

- 50) ki-ma pí-ri-i[š-ti x] x-zu-ti-šú-nu la še-me-e
because we did not hear their decision ...

- 51) ga-ti bīt a-bi-ni i-na pu-úḫ-ri it-ta-aš-ḫu
they kept our clan away in the assembly.

- 52) i-na-an-na šá-ad-da-ag-dam i-na eš-še-tim (53)/
parakkam ... (61)?/ ú-šá-al-pí-tu

Now, as recently as last year, they have profaned the
sanctuary ...¹⁰

¹⁰ Note CAD E s.v. eššetū "recent times," and CAD Š₁ s.v. šaddagda "last year." CAD Š is less sure of the translation of this passage.

Source: VAB 6, p. 204. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-dynastie*, 1914.

2.4.3 OB letter TCL 1 18 (AO 1630) (Sippar).

6) tu-uš-ta-am-ri-iš li-ib-bi

You have made me unhappy

7) ù mu-ru-uš li-ib-bi ra-bi-a-am

and great sorrow

8) a-na pa-ni-ya ta-áš-ta-ka-an

put upon me,

9) ki-ma la a-tu-ur-ru-ú-ma

as if I could not again

10) i-na pu-ḫu-ur aḫ-ḫi-y[a]

among my brothers

11) šú-mi bīt a-bi la a-za-(12)ak-ka-ru

mention the name of my family

13) te-te-ip-šá-an-ni

you have treated me.

14) ù a-ba-am išú-ú la a x [...] x

and I can no longer [say] "I have a father."

The sender addresses the recipient as "my lord" and "your son". It appears that the latter's actions have ruined the reputation of the former.

Source: VAB 6, p. 174. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-dynastie*, 1914.

2.4.4 OB Letter IM 4943I.

- 1) **a-na be-el-** [....] / 2) **ù i-zi-** [.....]
 To Bel-[] and Izi-[]
- 3) **qí-bí-[ma]** / 4) **um-ma i-{ku}-[pí-ša-ma]**
 speak. Thus says Ikupisha:
- 5) **a-na pu-{úh-ri-im}** / 6) **ša a-mu-r[i-im]**
 (When) to the assembly of the Amurru
- 7) **a-li-ik a-zi-{iz}** / 8) **ma-áš-{pa-ru}-[um]**
 I went and stood, Mashparum
- 9) **ù su-mu-UN-a-bi-ya** / 10) **i-ti sa-mu-ab-bi-im {re-im}**
 and Sumunabiya with Samu-abim the leader (lit. shepherd)
- 11) **ip-ḥu-ru** / 12) **a-wa-su-nu iš-ti-at**
 assembled. Their word was one (= they agreed)
- 13) **ri-ki-su-nu iš-te-[en]** / 14) [.....]
 (that) their bond (responsibilities) were the same.....

Source: **Sumer** 23 (1967), p. 153ff.

2.4.5 Mari letters. (OB)

2.4.5.1 Non-technical use.¹¹ **AHW** classifies the following as *status absolutus* or adverbial usage:

ARM(T) 5, 15:

- 18) **ù immerâti(ḥá)-ya** (19) **it-ti immerâti(ḥá)-ka**
 and my sheep / with your sheep

¹¹ When studying sources to determine the range of meaning for a technical term, it is important to recognize contexts in which that word is not used technically. Some illustrations of **puḥrum** translated in the sense of "all" or "together" are given on occasion to alert us to this usage.

- 20) **pu-ḥu-ur li-ri-ú**
let them graze together.

ARM(T) 10, 5

- 9) **PN₁ ù PN₂**
.... **PN₁ and PN₂**
- 10) **i-na bi-ri-šu-nu ni-iš ilāni-meš iz-ku-ru-ma**
swore an oath between themselves
- 11) **ù pu-ḥu-ur qa-qa-da-ti-šu-nu**
and together
- 12) **u[š-t]e-mi-đu!**
they have joined.

ARM(T) 10, 113

- 5) **ki-a-am iq-bi-im um-ma šu-ma**
Thus he said as follows:
- 6) **a-na-ku-ú ù at-ti pu-ḥu-ur-ma**
(If) you and I together
- 7) **ni-la-ak ù a-la-am** (8) **a-na ma-an-ni-im ni-iz-ib**
depart, to whom will we leave the city?

ARM(T) 2, 39

- 53) **a-ḏi ši-bu-ti i-na ša-bi a-bi-ya la ak-šu-đu ú**
ṭe₄-mi l[a
as long as the objective of my father's troops has not
been reached and a report has not ...

54) ka-li-ta pu-ḥu-ur-ma ni-la-ak

let us go together.

2.4.5.2 Referring to council meeting.

ARM(T) 1, 24

5') i-na pa-ni-tim-[m]a awīl Ḥa-aš-ši-[i]m^{ki} awīl Ur-
[si-im^{ki}]

Earlier the lord of Haššim, the lord of Ur[sim]

6') ù awīl Kar-ka-mi-iš^{ki} ú-pa-aḥ-ḥi-ir-ma

and the lord of Karkamiš I assembled and

7') ki-a-am aq-bi-šu-nu-ši-im um-[m]a a-na-ku-ma

thus I spoke to them, saying:

8') pa-an a-wa-at Su-mu-E-bu-uḥ lu-mu-ur-ma

I am watching the situation with Sumu-Ebuh and

9') šum-ma na-ka-rum pu-ḥu(!)-ur-ma i ni-ik-ki(!)-ir

if there are hostilities, let us assemble and fight!

Assembly of several leaders over war plans. The verbal form is used but not the noun. Note it is clearly a (small) council from the context.

ARM(T) 2, 75

An administrator is here reporting to Zimri-Lim about the wavering loyalties of the Qayceans. Apparently they were supplying provisions to the troops of Hammurabi although they had sworn allegiance to Zimri-Lim. The administrator writes to Yamruš-El, the elders of the city of Qaya, and the

Qayears, asking them to assemble:

8) **ki-i-ma** (9) **1 awilim 2 me-tim ṣa-bu-um qa-qa-da-a[t]**
as / one man, 200 people, the leaders of

10) **Qa-a-em ù ^{al}Qi-e-em**
the Qayears and of the city Qaya

11) **[ip]-ḥu-ru-nim-ma i-na pu-uḥ-ri-<šū>-nu**
assembled and in their assembly

12) **[ki-a-a]m ad-bu-ub-šū-nu-ši-im** (13) **[um]-ma a-na-**
ku-ma

thusly I spoke to them / as follows:

14) **mi-nu-um ṭe₄-em-ku-nu an-nu-um**
"What is your decision in this (matter),

15) **a-yi-iš pa-ni-ku-nu ša-ak-na-[t]u-nu**
where do you intend to go?

ARMT 2, 33

The writer Ibal-El is worried about the loyalty of the city Ašnakkum, and some troops are sent there. He then leaves the area and goes to the Haneans in "the heart of the land" to address them:

11') **PN₁ ù PN₂** (12') **a-na ṣe-ri-ya i-na pu-ḥu-ur Ḥanê**
PN₁ and PN₂ arrived with me at the assembly of Haneans

13') **a-na Si-ḥa-ra-ta^{ki} ik-šū-ḏu-nim um-<ma>-a-mi as-sú-**
ur-ri

in Siharata. Thus I said: "On no account

14') **a-na ṣe-er be-lí-ya at-ta-al-la-ak-ma wa-ar-ki-ya**
after I have departed to go to my lord

- 15') a-la-nu ša it-ti-ya na-ak-ru a-na Aš-na-ak-ki-im^{ki}
 the cities which are hostile to me to Ašnakkum must not
 16') la i-sa-an-ni-qú-ma pí-i a-lim la úš-ba-la-ka-tu
 go over and the allegiance of the city reverse."

2.4.6 OB Nuzi.

HSS V 66 (*tuppi mārūti* = Adoption tablet)

- 8) mi-nu-um-me-e egal ti-te-en-ni
 all of the field of the security deputy,¹²
 9) qa-lum-ma-ni-ya 1 mimmu-ya
 everything of mine, my entire part
 10) pu-uḫ-ri-ya (11) a-na ^{sa}na-aš-mu-un-na-ai addin
 (of) my assemblage / I give to PN.

Sources: **HSS V 66**; E. Cassin, *L'adoption à Nuzi* p. 250.

HSS V 99 (*tuppi tamkurti* = "Agreement" tablet)

- 1) DUB-pí ta-am-ku-ur-ti
 Tablet of agreement
 2) ša ¹ma-an-ni-ya DUMU tu-ul-ḫu-kan-ga
 which PN₁ son of PN₂
 3) ù ša ¹an-a-nu DUMU ta-a-i-ú-ki
 and which PN₃ son of PN₄
 4) i-na be-ri-šū-nu it-ta-am-ku-ru
 have agreed between themselves.

¹² **AHW** s.v. *titenū* = "Pfand-Stellvertreter" (security deputy).

- 5) **um-ma 'ma-an-nu-ú-ya-ma**
Thus (said) PN₁:
- 6) **mi-nu-um-me-e pu-uḫ-ḫu-ur-šu**
"All of his assemblage,
- 7) **ša 'ta-a-i-ú-ki 2-šu a-na-ku**
that of PN₄ its double-portion, I
- 8) **el-te-qè ù 'an-a-nu**
have received, and PN₃
- 9) **il-te-il-tu il-te-qè**
a single-portion has received."

Sources: **HSS V 99; AASOR 16, 45:5.**

In these Nuzi examples, *puḫru* occurs in property lists as a synonym for "all my possessions."

2.4.7 Old Assyrian (Cappadocia).

- 18) ... **ší-tí** (19) **ṣubāti^{ba-tí}-a 7 ku-ta-nu!**
The rest of my garments, 7 "tunics"
- 20) **ša-pí-ú-tim** (21) **ú e-ṭí-ú-tim** (22) **pu-ùḫ-ra-ma ...**
thick and dark collect and ...

Source: D.A. Kennedy and P. Garelli, **JCS 14** (1960) pp. 1-ff.

2.4.8 Dur-Kurigalzu administrative document.

- 7) **^{1ú}šatammi** (8) ... 1 **^{erá}MURUB.ŠÌR.ŠÌR**
The steward ... a copper chain
- 9) **6 ma-na šuqultišu i-pad-su-ma**
weighing 6 minas around his waist he fastened,

- 10) a-na ¹Ta-ri-bi mār ¹Hu-na-bi
to Taribi son of Hunabi
- 11) ¹⁶riqqi ša bīt pu-uḥ-ri
the apothecary of the 'house of the assembly'
- 12) ip-qid-su i-ḥal-liq-ma
he assigned him. If he escapes

Source: *Iraq* 11 (1949) p. 132. O. R. Gurney, *Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu*.

2.4.9 Neo-Babylonian royal correspondence.

2.4.9.1 ABL 716 (K 31).

- R20) ... it-ti-šú a-ḏib-bu-ub-ma 20 30
I spoke with (complained to) him and many (20-30)
- R21) tuk-ka-a-ta šá ul-tu bīt a-ga-a a-na-ku
warnings/rumors which from the house here
- R22) la a-mu-ru la áš-mu-ú u la i-ḏu-ú a-na muḥḥi^{bi}-yá
I have not seen, nor heard, nor know of against me
- R23) i-na-as-suq šá ap-pi-it-ti ina puḥru šá ¹⁶ardāni^{mes}
he throws, just as one who in the assembly of the
officials
- R24) šá šarri be-lí-yá it-ti-yá i-ḏub-bu-bu-ma i-tur-ra
of the king my lord with me disputes, he responds.

The writer is apparently comparing his current rough treatment with what he might expect to receive in an assembly before the king, where various options were argued. The problem of course is that in his present position he has

no ability to respond to the charges.

Source: Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria* (AOS 6) p. 144, # 199.

2.4.9.2 Harper 344 (83-1-18, 28).

R1) ¹ba-ri-ki-ilu (R2) ¹larak^{ki}-ú-a

Bariki-ilu / the Larakite,

R3) ul-tu bīt ki-li (R4) šá larak^{ki} ki-i iḫ-liq

(who) escaped from the prison of Larak,

R5) ina puḫur nīši^{mes} (R6) a-mat šarri iq-ta-bi

in the assembly of the people the order of the king he
spoke

R7) a-du-ú a-na (R8) pa-ni šarri be-lí-i-ni

Now to the king our lord

R9) ni-il-tap-raš-šú (R10) šarru liš-al-šú

we have sent him. Let the king question him.

This is a fine example of a text in which the significance is lost in its terseness. Clearly the escaped prisoner is in trouble for what he did, but what exactly did he do? Does *amat šarri* = "the command of the king" imply that he attempted to impersonate a *mār šipri* (messenger) of the king? Did he slander the king or incite insurrection by "speaking [against] the command of the king?"

Source: Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria* (AOS 6) p. 62, #70.

2.5 Hymns/Omens/Ritual.

2.5.1 Ištar Hymn (OB, Ur).

Context: A hymn of praise to Ištar, broken into quatrains (actually separated by lines on the tablet) which seem to be fairly independent of each other.

33) **pu-uḫ-ri-iš-šu-un e-te-el qá-bu-ú-ša šu-tu-úr**

In their assembly her speech is lordly, supreme

34) **a-na An-nim šar-ri-šu-nu ma-la-am aš-ba-as-su-nu**

Beside Anu their king, as an equal she sits among them

35) **uz-na-am ne-me-qí-im ḥa-si-i-sa-am er-še-et**

She possesses profound understanding, intelligence, and
wisdom,

36) **im-ta-al-li-i-ku ši-i ù ḥa-mu-uš**

They take counsel together, she and her lord.

Significance: Female gods have equal power and input in divine assemblies. Does Ištar replace Enlil here?

Source: F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA 22, Un hymne a Ištar de la haute époque babylonienne*, pp. 169-177.

2.5.2 CT 15 3 A **kummu**¹³ [temple-room] song for Adad. (OB)

7) **En-líl pa-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma i-pu-uḫ-ri ka-la i-li
iz-za-ak-kà-ar**

Enlil opened his mouth and spoke in the assembly of all
the gods

¹³ For the meaning of **kummu** as "bedroom," "interior chamber," and equivalent to **é-nun-na**, see Levine and Hallo, *Offerings to the Temple Gates at Ur*, *HUCA 38* (1967), p. 53.

- 8) iš-ti-a-nu-um ša-ḏu-ú i-li à(?)-ḥu-ur

"A certain mountain of the gods is delayed(!?),¹⁴

- 9) ša-aš-ma-am il-qè-e-ma e-su-lum-ma

He (Adad) attacked in spite of a peace agreement.¹⁵

- 10) bé-le-et-i-li li-ib-bu-ku-nim li-še-ri-bu-ni-iš-ši
a-na maḥ-ri-ya

Let them bring Bēlet-ilī to me, let them have her enter
into my presence"

Unfortunately, after Bēlet-ilī is brought in, the rest of
the column of the tablet is broken off.

Source: **Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient** (Adam Falkenstein) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), W. H. Ph. Römer, **Studien zu altbabylonischen hymnisch-epischen texten**, p. 185ff. See J. Lewy, *AnOr* 17/2, p. 122 and A. Goetze, *JNES* 5, p. 189 for discussions on the text.

2.5.3 Hymn 2 VIII. (OB, Subartu)

- 2') an-nu-um ša-al-la-at šu-mé-r[i-im] e-li-iš a-a i-l[i]

This, the booty of Sumer shall not go up!

- 3') šu-ba-ru-ú-um lu-ú er-ši-et ka-za-zí-im-m[a] ša-at-
ti-ša-am-ma šu-mé-ru-um li-ik-ta-za-as-sí

The Subarean is indeed the desirable (object) for

¹⁴ Lewy translates as "one sole rock of the gods has stayed away." *CAD* I s.v. *ištēnu* p. 282 transcribes the line as: *išti Anum šadû ilī wu-'u₅-ur* [D-stative] = "with Anu, the mountain of the god is delayed." *CAD* notes that *išti* followed by a noun occurs nowhere else in OB (s.v. *išti* p. 283 c)). For further details of this difficult line, see Römer's discussion, p. 192.

¹⁵ For the translation of this difficult line, see Römer's notes p. 192f.

shearing, let the Sumerian shear that year after year!¹⁶

4') iš<-tu²>-um-ma it-mu-ú-šu ^dištar ù šu-ú x¹⁷ pu-
hu-ur ur-đu-ni-i-im

After he had sworn it, he and Ištar descended together

5') ^dištar i-qá-tu gi-ni-i-ša

Ištar mediates¹⁸ her regular offerings,

6') ú-li i-pa-ša-ḫa-am a-na-a-ma ^dli-il-li

CAD E: she was not appeased ... Lillu.

Römer: she comes against(?) Lillu not for peace.

Use of **puḫrum** either as "together, jointly" (following Römer), or as "attending an assembly" in which offerings were made (following CAD).

Source: *Welt des Orients* 4 (1967-8), W. H. Ph. Römer, *Studien zu altbabylonischen hymnisch-epischen Texten* (3), p. 13.

2.5.4 Hymn to Šamaš. KBo I 12

1) [i]-na ba-lu ^dšamaš šar ša-me-e ù ir-ši-tim da-
ya-[an] e(!)-la-a-ti

Without (the permission of) Šamaš, king of heaven and earth, judge of the upper world,

¹⁶ The transliteration and translation of this line follow CAD E s.v. **erištu** A 2a) p. 299, rather than Römer (see his discussion).

¹⁷ So transliterated by CAD G s.v. **ginû** A 2a) p. 80. On the basis of this possible unclear sign, CAD translates the clause as "Ištar and he came down to(?) the assembly."

¹⁸ CAD G s.v. **ginû** A 2a) does not translate the verb here, and labels this section as "unclear."

- 2) [ù] šap-la-a-ti na-di-in pu-ru-us-si-e(!) iṭ-lu
šar-ru ^dšamaš

and the under world, who gives decisions, the hero, the
king Šamaš,

- 3) [^d]a-nu ù ^den-líl i-na ša-me-e pu-uh-ra ú-ul ú-
pa-ah-ha-ru

An and Enlil could not organize an assembly in heaven,

- 4) [m]i-li-ik ma-a-tim ú-ul i-ma-al-li-ku um-ma-a-ti
e-bu-ra

they could not give advice about the land; heat,
harvest,

- 5) [ku-u]ṣ-ša ul i-ša-ak-kà-nu na-áš-ša im-ba-ra šu-
ri-pa

cold they could not cause; rain, fog, ice,

- 6) [r]i-tam ma-aš-qí-ta šam-ma: ša-am-ma šu-
bulta(AN.TA) ur-qí-ta

pasture, watering place, grassland: grassland, ear of
barley, vegetation,

- 7) [mar]-qí-ta ku-ru-um-ma-at bu-ul ṣēri ša ma-ta-a-ti
shelter,¹⁹ food of wild animals of the plains of the
lands

- 8) [i-na] ba-lu ^dšamaš ú-ul in-na-an-di-in
without (the permission of) Šamaš is not given.

This passage shows the importance of An and Enlil as the

¹⁹ CAD M₂ s.v. marqītu B p. 285 notes that this term appears in a lexical list as a synonym of šammu, "vegetation."

leaders of the assembly, hinting that they are the ones who would normally call it into session.

Source: OrNS 23, p. 213.

2.5.5 Prayer of Divination Priest. YBC 5023 (in YBT XI, 1) (OB)

- 1) **Šamaš a-ša-ka-an a-na pi-ya ^{is}erinnam el-la-am**
O Šamaš! I am placing in my mouth pure cedar (resin),
- 2) **a-ša-ni-ip-ku i-na i-ti-iq pi-ir-ti-ya**
I am wrapping it for you in the locks of my hair;
- 3) **a-ša-ka-an-ku-um i-na sú-ni-ya**
I am placing for you on my lap
- 4) **ša-bi-am ^{is}erinnam**
compact cedar (resin).²⁰
- 5) **em-sí pi-ya ù qá-ti-ya**
I washed my mouth and my hands,
- 6) **ak-pu-ur pi-ya i-na ša-bi-im ^{is}erinnim**
I wiped my mouth with compact cedar (resin);
- 7) **aš-ni-ip ^{is}erinnam el-la-am i-na i-ti-iq pi-ir-ti-ya**
I wrapped pure cedar (resin) in the locks of my hair,
- 8) **al-ta-pa-ak-ku ša-bi-am ^{is}erinnam**
I pour out for you compact cedar (resin).
- 9) **el-le-ku a-na pu-ḥu-ur i-lí e-ṭe-eḥ-ḥi**
Being (now) clean, to the assembly of the gods I shall
draw near

²⁰ Although Goetze translates **šabû** as "compact," CAD Š s.v. p. 17 notes the meaning is uncertain, and may lie in the range of "glowing," "smoking," or "fragrant." AHW s.v. **šapû** p. 1177, translates as "covered with thick foliage."

10) a-na di-nim

for judgment.

11) ^dŠamaš be-el di-nim ^dAdad be-el ik-ri-bi ù bi-ri

O Šamaš, lord of judgment! O Adad, lord of ritual acts
and of divination!

12) i-na ik-ri-ib a-ka-ra-bu i-na te-er-ti e-pu-šu

ki-it-tam šu-uk-nam

In the ritual act I prepare, in the extispicy I perform
place truth!"

..... The priest offers Šamaš and Adad water to wash up
with, and says:

28) wa-ši!-ib ⁱGU.ZA.MEŠ ḥurāsim a-ki-il ⁱpaššūr

^{aban}uqnīm

[.... Adad] who sits on golden thrones, and eats off
lapis lazuli tables,²¹

29) tu-ur-ra-da-am ta-ak-ka-al tu-uš-ša-ab

descend, eat, sit

30) i-na ⁱGU.ZA ta-di-an di-[nam]

on the throne and pronounce judgment.

..... After the final offering of "the plenty of Nisaba",
the gods are implored to sit down:

58) ši-ib ^dŠamaš qú-ra-du li-iš-bu

Sit, valiant Šamaš! May the great gods

²¹ This line appears to describe the god's heavenly abode, which they are being invited to leave in order to come down to earth to pass judgment. This descriptive formula is repeated in lines 38-39 (after offering the two gods "the tribute of lordship") and in lines 45-48 (after offering the two gods "seven and seven unleavened loaves").

59) **it-ti-i-ka ilu^{mes} ra-bu-tum**

sit with you!

Anum, Sîn, Nerigal, Inanna are then asked to "let Šamaš and Adad sit with you." Thus this divine judgment assembly consisted of a total of six gods.

Significance: Note the description of the heavenly abode: "golden thrones and tables of lapis" (ll. 28, 38, 45). A divine assembly is called for judgment (divination), which includes seating the gods and feeding them. This text shows that banqueting in the divine assembly is known outside of epic literature.

Source: Albrecht Goetze, *An Old Babylonian Prayer of the Divination Priest*, JCS 22 (1968), pp. 25-29. Note excellent discussion by Victor Hurowitz, in "Isaiah's Impure Lips and Their Purification in Light of Akkadian Sources," HUCA 60 (1989), pp. 39ff.

2.5.6 Rituals of the diviner. HSM 7494.

16) **i-na ši-ik-na-at i-li ra-bu-tim i-na tu-up-pi ša i-li
ta-ka-al-tum li-ši-ib**

In the manifestation of the great gods, in the tablet
of the gods, let a takaltu be present.

17) **⁴Nisaba tu-up-ša-ra-tum li-ša-ṭe₄-er di-na-am ⁴SIPA im-
me-ra-am li-ṭe₄-hi a-na pu-ḫu-ur i-li ra-bu-tim a-
na šu-lu-[um(?) di(?)]-num**

Let Nisaba, the (divine) scribe, have the case
recorded. Let Nusku present a sheep for the
assembly of the great gods, for the disposal(?) of
the case.

- 18) li-iš-bu-ma da-a-a-nu i-lu-ú ra-bu-tim wa-ši-bu
 GIŠ.GU.ZA-a-at hu-ra-ši a-ki-lu pa-aš-šu-ur uq-
 ni-im ma-ḥa-ar-ka

Let the judges, the great gods, who sit on golden
 thrones, who eat at a table of lapis lazuli, sit
 before you.

The gods named earlier are Šamaš, Adad, Išhara, Guanna,
 Nergal. The plea is to "place a true verdict in the lamb I
 am offering."

Source: Ivan Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner*.
Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 12. Giorgio Buccellati, editor.
 Malibu: Undena, 1985.

2.5.7 Inanna's Elevation. SB bilingual hymn.

- 7) an du₁₁-ga-maḥ-zu sag ba-du ul-la mu-lu im-me
 8) ^da-nu qí-bit-ka šir-tu₄ ina maḥ-ri il-lak ul-la
 man-nu i-qab-bi
 Anu, (when) your exalted word goes forth, who says "No"
 to it?
 9) a-a-dim-me-er-e-ne-ke₄ ^{en?}inim-zu an-ki-a te-me-en-bi
 dingir-na-me nu-še
 10) a-bi ilí^{meš} a-mat-ka te-me-en šamê° u eršeti^{ti} a-
 a-ú ilu le-em-ma

Father of the gods, your word is the foundation for
 heaven and earth, which god will not obey you?

- 11) en mas-sù uš-gar ní-te-na-me-en ^{sa}sá-ga-ar^{ar}gar-me te-
àm
- 12) be-el mas-su-ú ma-lik ra-ma-ni-šá at-ta mi-lik-ni
mi-i-nu
O lord, you are your own ruler and adviser, what (is)
our advice (to you)?
- 13) ki-sikil ^dinanna ħi-li-bi mu-un-ši-in-kar-ra ^aá-zu
a-ri-a-an-ši-ib
- 14) ana ar-da-tu, ^diš-tar šá te-em-nu-ši id-ka i-din-ši
Give your strength (lit. hand) to Inanna, the young
woman whom you have loved!²²
- 15) na-nam gi-na-zu an-gim zé-eb-bé-da da-gan-me-a zu-
zu-ab-ta
- 16) an-na-ka ki-na šá ki-ma šamê^e kab-tu, ina pu-uĥ-
ri-ni ud-di-ši
Your reliable positive answer, which is as important
(firm) as the heavens, you make known to her in
our assembly.
- 17) ^din-nin ðim-me-er ħili-bi mu-un-ši-in-kar-ra me-ur-
zu si-mu-un-na-ab
- 18) ana ^dMIN i-lat te-im-nu-ši ħi-im-mat par-ši-ka šu-
ut-^{li}lim-ši
Give to Inanna, the goddess whom you have loved, the

²² Hruška translates as "with your young wife Inanna you are already delighted, give her your manly power." CAD N₁ s.v. nadānu p. 52, p. 43 renders the idiom as "give her your help/ assistance." CAD M₂ s.v. menû p. 19 translates as shown above. For the parallel line 17-18 below, see CAD Ĥ s.v. ĥimmatu p. 191.

collection of your divine functions!

This bilingual text links Sumerian **da-gan** with Akkadian **puḫru**. **CT 19**, 16 col. II:18-19 and others parallel **da-gan** with *kullatu*, "totality." Sol Cohen notes that since **ME-A** alone could mean **puḫru** (see lexical section), the Sumerian phrase would read "in the whole assembly" rather than "in our assembly."

Source: **TCL 6** 51, 52. Cf. **RA 11** p. 147; B. Hruška, **ArOr** 37 (1969) p. 473ff.

2.5.8 Šurpu (OB, but late copies).

Tablet II:

As part of a long list of sins which the offender may have committed:

51) **mi-ra-nu-uš-šu eṭ-lu la ú-maš-ši-ru**

(He) did not clothe a young man when he was naked.

52) **eṭ-lu damqa ina kim-ti-šú ú-še-lu-ú**

He ousted a well-to-do young man from his family,

53) **qin-na pu-ḫur-ta ú-sap-pi-ḫu**

scattered a gathered clan,

.....

69) **ina NÍG.GIG mar-ši šá i-ku-lu**

Because of the evil taboo he has eaten,

70) **ina ár-ni ma-a'-du-ti šá iḫ-ta-ṭu-u**

because of the many sins he committed,

71) **ina UNKIN šá ú-sap-pi-ḫu**

because of the assembly he divided,

- 72) **ina il-la-ti ka-ṣir-ti šá ú-par-ri-ru**
because of the tightly united company he dispersed,²³
- 73) **ina gab-bi DINGIR u ʿEŠ₄.DAR šá i-me-šu**
because of all the contempt for the god and goddess,
- 74) **ina līb-bi-šu ù pi-i-šu iq-bu-u la id-di-nu**
because he promised in heart and by mouth but did not
give,

Based on their context, the above references seem to relate to family units.

- 78) **iš-ru-ru-ma niš qa-ti ir-šu-u**
after he heaved arrogantly, he started to pray,
- 79) **GIŠ.BANŠUR kun-na ú-saḥ-ḥu-u**
disarranged the altar that had been prepared,
- 80) **DINGIR-šú u ʿEŠ₄.DAR-šú KI-šú ú-za-an-nu-ú**
made his god and his goddess angry with himself,
- 81) **ina ši-pa-ri iz-za-az-zu-ma la šal-ma-a-te i-ta-mu-u**
standing up in the assembly,²⁴ said inadequate²⁵
words.

²³ CAD I s.v. *illatu* p. 82 1) translates this line as "because he broke up a well-knit kinship group."

²⁴ Šurpu Commentaries B and C both note that *šipāru* = *puḥru* (p. 50, l. 10; p. 51, l. 48). AHw s.v. p. 1244 2) notes these occurrences and adds *šipāru u nanmuru* ("meeting") from ACh.Ad. 7, 27 [Neither AHw or CAD list *nanmuru* separately]. *šipāru* is probably derived from *šapāru* = "to send," "to write," "to order," "to administer, govern" and apparently is used as a synonym for an assembly in the sense that it is an organ of administration and government.

²⁵ AHw s.v. *šalmūtu* "unwholesome".

82) lu-ú paṭ-ra ul i-di-ma it-ta-mi

Be it released, because he has sworn to facts of which
he was ignorant,

As the immediate context prior to line 81 involves worship, it is possible that šipāru refers to the same context. It does not appear to refer to a family unit, since "standing up to speak" implies a more formal context.

Tablet III:

Among a list of oaths or curses:

35) ma-mit UDU.NITÁ ṭa-ba-ḥu u KUD-su la-pa-tú

Oath: To slaughter a sheep but misuse the cuts,

36) ma-mit GIŠ bu-kan-nu ina UNKIN šu-pu-ú

Oath: To show the pestle in the assembly,²⁶

37) ma-mit ta-pa-li u tim-bu-ut-ti

Oath of the cymbals and harp,

....

70) ma-mit GIŠ.IG u GIŠ.SAG.KUL n[a]-pa-[š]a

Oath: To break down a door or bolt,

71) ma-mit GIŠ.TUKUL ina UNKIN [š]u-pu-u

Oath: To show a weapon in the assembly,

72) ma-mit ⁴Nin-urta be-[el nik-n]ak-ku

Oath of Ninurta, the lo[rd of the cens]er

²⁶ A variant has ḥe-pu-ú = "breaking" as the verb. While the idiom *bukānam šūtuqu* = "to hand over the pestle" is an OB idiom for "to conclude a sale" (CAD B s.v. *bukānu* p. 308 b)), the meaning of this (symbolic?) action in the assembly is unknown.

.... The following occurs in a list of word pairs:

144) **ma-mit sar-ri u si-la-a-ti**

Oath of lie or blasphemy,

145) **ma-mit ^dIZI.GAR u KI.NE**

Oath of lamp or stove,

146) **ma-mit ^dLUGAL.GIŠ.A.TU.GAB+LIŠ u ÍD.BURANUNA**

Oath of the "Lord of the poplar" or the Euphrates,

147) **ma-mit GIŠ.GU.ZA u UNKIN**

Oath of the throne or assembly,

148) **ma-mit LÚ.UŠ u LÚ.TI**

Oath of the dead or living,

149) **ma-mit ḫab-li u ḫa-bil-ti**

Oath of the wronged man or wronged woman,

Note the parallelism between *throne* and *assembly* as governing entities.

Tablet VIII:

In the final absolution part of the incantation:

77) **KI ma-mit GIŠ.BAN GIŠ.GIGIR GÍR.AN.BAR u**

GIŠ.ŠI.KAK ta-mu-u MIN MIN MIN

Together with the oath of swearing by bow, chariot,
sword or spear ditto, ditto, ditto

78) **ina U₄-me an-ni-i DIG~IR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ a-ši-bu AN-e**

**^dA-nim ina UNKIN-ŠÚ-nu lip-tu-ru-[ka lip]-šu-
ru-ka**

Today, may the great gods who dwell in the heaven of
Anu release [you], absolve you in their assembly."

- 79) NÍG.GIG an-zil-lu ár-ni šèr-tú gíl-la-tú hi-ṭi-tú
tur-tú m[aš-al-tu]

Taboo, interdict, sin, transgression, crime, error,
retaliation, que[stioning],

- 80) mi-iḥ-ru la ṭa-a-bu li-is-su-ú li-ri-qu
bad luck may move away, be far off

Significance: Absolution comes from the assembly of gods,
not from individual gods.

Source: Erica Reiner, *Šurpu: Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, AfO Beiheft 11 (1958).

2.5.9 Prayer to a god. K2371 + K13791 (Nineveh, 750 BC)

- 6) ra-ba-ta ina É.KUR.BAD ma-ḥi-ra la ti-šú

You (Nergal) are great, you have no rival in the
netherworld,

- 7) it-ti 'É-a ina puḥur ilāni mi-lik-ka šu-tur

your advice in the assembly is as important as Ea's,

- 8) it-ti 'Sīn ina šamê-e ta-še-'i gim-ri

with Sin you perceive everything in the heavens

- 9) id-din-ka-ma 'enlil abu-ka šal-mat qaqqadi pu-ḥur
napišti^{ti}

Enlil your father gave you the black-headed people, all
living beings

Could be used here in the sense of "all, totality,
assemblage," but divine assembly may be equally in view. A
good example of ambiguity due to our lack of context.

Source: L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London: Luzac, 1896), p. 87ff [No. 27]; E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie Handerhebung ...* (Berlin: 1953), p. 114.

2.5.10 Incantation CT 23 15-18.

- 13) ÉN UKU.MEŠ (*nišê*) mi-ta-tum am-me-ni IGI.IGI
 (*tannamarā*) KI-ya šá URU.MEŠ-ši-na DUL.MEŠ
 (*tillāni*) [x]-ši-na iṣ-me-e-tum

Incantation. Dead people, why are you appearing to me,
 (you) whose towns are the ruins, whose [food(?)]
 are bones?

- 14) ana-ku ul al-lak ana GÚ.DU₂.A.KI pu-ḥur GIDIM
 at-tu-nu am-me-ni [DU].MEŠ-ka ár-ki-ya tùm-ma-
 tu-nu

I have not gone to Cutha, the gathering of the ghosts.
 Why do you come after me? Be you conjured away by

- 15) ^aA-ba-tú
 Abatu

Source: G. Castellino, *Rituals and Prayers against "Appearing Ghosts"*, *OrNS* 24 p. 246f.

2.5.11 Dream omens. (NB)

- 2.5.11.1 K 3941 + 4017. Tablet III col. II, p. 308 (cf. p. 264).

- 5) DIŠ ina GIŠ ur-ba-te a-šib NÍG NA.[] (6) SIG₇-
 šú []

If he sits on reed: ... [], his good luck [will leave him].

- 7) **DIŠ ina KI a-šib DUGUD SAG.DU [TUK-ši]**
 If he sits on the ground: honors [are in store for
 him(?)].
- 8) **DIŠ ina mu-li-e a-šib []**
 If he sits on an elevation: []
- 9) **DIŠ ina muš-pa-li a-šib [] (10) SUḪUŠ x[]**
 If he sits in a depression: []
- 11) **DIŠ ina AMBAR a-šib []**
 If he sits in a swamp: []
- 12) **DIŠ ina UKKIN a-šib []**
 If he sits in the assembly: []
- 13) **DIŠ ina ri-b[it URU-šú a-šib] (14) S[IG₅(?)]**
 If he sits in the squ[are before his town(?): his]
 go[od luck].
- 15) Too broken to read.

Contrasts sitting in the swamp/assembly (rural/city,
 dishonor/honor, obscurity/fame?)

2.5.11.2 K 9945 + K 10456 + K 12590, fragment perhaps from
 Tablet III p. 335 (cf. p. 292).

- x+18) **DIŠ NA ina MÁŠ.GE₆-šú KI UKKIN ṣal-ta DÙ-[uš]**
 If a man in his dream quarrels in the assembly: []
- x+19) **DIŠ KI AD-šú LÚ.NE DÙ-uš AB.[BA-ta]**
 If he quarrels with his father: ol[d age]

The text continues, listing quarrels with one's grandfather,
 mother, brother, and wife, before breaking off. Oppenheim

notes that since this text mentions quarrels with the assembly, it implies that this social institution is still functioning -- or still remembered.

Source: A. L. Oppenheim, *Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, TAPS NS 46 (3), 1956.

2.5.12 Hymn of praise to Marduk, K 3351. (Nineveh, 750 BC)

Context: List of attributes and praises of Marduk,

11) a-na te-bi-šú ez-zi šá i'-ir-ru ul ib-ši

There is no one who can withstand his terrible attack,

12) be-lum ra-áš-bu šá ina pu-ḥur ilāni rabûti šin-na-as-su la ib-ba-šú-u

Fearful lord, who does not have an equal in the assembly of the great gods,

13) i-na bu-ru-mi ellûti^{mes} šá-ru-uḥ ta-lu-uk-šú

his course is majestic in the bright firmament

Significance: "Great gods" may refer to the 7 great gods, not to the general assembly.

Source: E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie Handerhebung* ... (Berlin, 1953), p. 94; King, *STC I*, p. 204ff.

2.5.13 Dialogue between Aššurbanipal and Nabû. VAB 7, p.

346 K 1285 Rs. 26ff. (NA, Nineveh)

25) ... šārē ṭābûti ina napšāti-ka a-paq-qid

(Nabû:) " ... I will provide good winds in your life.

- 26) pi-ya am-me-u šá ṭābi ik-ta-nar-rab-ka ina puḥur
DIG~IR-meš GAL-meš

My mouth will repeatedly bless you (with) good things
in the assembly of the great gods."

- R1) ip-te-te 'Aššur-bān-apli up-ni-šu it-ta-na-aḥ-ḥar
a-na 'Nabû bēli-šu

Assurbanipal opened his closed hand (in supplication),
he repeatedly prayed to Nabû his lord:

- R2) ša iṣba-tu ina šepâ² 'šar-rat ninua^{ki} la i-lu-ad
ina puḥur DIG~IR-meš

"He who seizes the feet of Šarrat-Ninua will not be
ashamed(?) in the assembly of the great gods,

- R3) ša ina qa-an-ni šá 'ur-kit-tu ka-ṣir la i-lu-ad
ina puḥur ḥa-da-nu-te-šu

he who is protected by (lit. bound to the hem of)
Urkittu will not be shamed(?) in the assembly of
his ill-wishers²⁷

- R4) ina puḥur ḥa-da-nu-te-ya la tu-maš-šar-an-ni 'nabû
In the assembly of my enemies do not forget me, O Nabû.

- R5) ina puḥur bēl ṣa-as-si-ya la tu-maš-ša-ra
napšâte-meš-ya

In the assembly of my adversary do not forget my life."

Source: M. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (Leipzig, 1916). P.
Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* 6/2 Texte zur
Assyrisch-Babylonische Religion, XXIII, p. 136ff.

²⁷ On this difficult verb, see *CAD* L p. 36, s.v. *lâdu* =
"to bend, to be ashamed(?)" ; *AHW* p. 527, "to go on the
knee," "to bend," "to be humbled."

2.5.14 Examentext A.

- 1) **dub-sar dumu-a-ni ab-dim₄-e-dè**
 ʔup-šar-ru ma-ra-šú i-sa-[an-niq]
 The scribe examined his "son" (and said):
- 2) **u[nkin-lú-u]m-me-a-ke₄-e-ne kisal-é-dub-b[a-a-ka]**
 ina pu-ḥur um-ma-ni kisal É ʔup-pi
 in the assembly of masters, in the courtyard of the
 tablet house,
- 3) **gen-nu dumu-mu ki-ta-mu-šè tuš-a-ab gá-[na] ga-mu-**
ra-ab-du₁₁ giš mu-un-TUK-TUK-me-en
 al-ka ma-ri ti-šab ina šap-li-[ya] ga-na lu-uq-
 bi-kúm-ma pe-ti u[z-ni]
 come, my "son", and sit at my feet; let me ask you
 questions, and you answer me:

Significance: Shows the position of the examined in relation to the examiner. *Son* denotes a subordinate. Here we see a parallelism where *assembly* is used with *courtyard*, its meeting place.

Source: Sjöberg, **ZA 64** (1974), p. 140.

2.6 Royal inscriptions.

2.6.1 Tukulti-Ninurta I: Inscription 6 and 14 (same) (MB)

- 1) **ʔukúl-ti-^dnin-urta šar₄ kiššati šarru dan-nu**
 Tukulti-Ninurta, king of the universe, the mighty king,
- 2) **šar₄ māt ^daš-šur ka-šid mul-tar-ḫi**
 king of the land of Assyria, who conquers the proud,

- Note this occurs among a long list of rebellious people and must be taken in a very general sense -- like "the unsubmissive," which does not refer to any specific region or people. A parallel phrase from a prayer of Tukulti-Ninurta (KAR 128) shows that "an assembly of evil-doers" is not in view, but *puhur* is being used in the collective sense of "all, every":²⁸

- All evildoers darken the day like the sun not being
visible ...

²⁸ The Hebrew phrase אִתְּכֶם וְעִמָּכֶם "assembly/company of the wicked" is a cognate phrase commonly found in the Psalms (22:17, 26:5, 64:3, etc.).

2.6.2 Sennacherib. (Nineveh, 700 BC)

Sennacherib's Annals, OIP 2 p. 82

- 36) aš-ta-kan si-dir-ta i-na ki-bit Aššur bēli rabê
 bēli-ya ki-i ^{giš}tar-ta-ḫi šam-ri i-na lîb-bi-
 šu-nu al-lik-ma si-kip-ti ummanāte^{meš}-šu-nu

I drew up the battle line. At the command of Aššur,
 the great lord, my lord, like a swift javelin I
 went into their midst and the defeat of their
 armies

- 37) aš-kun pu-ḫur-šu-nu ú-šap-pi-iḫ-ma ú-par-ri-ir el-
 lat-su-un ^{lú}rabûti^{meš} šar ^{kur}Elamti^{ki}

I accomplished. Their hosts I shattered, I dispersed
 their troops²⁹. The chiefs of the king of Elam

Prism, col. IV (OIP 2 p. 39)

- 53) ellāti^{meš}-šu ú-sap-pi-iḫ-ma ú-par-ri-ir pu-ḫur-šu

His forces I scattered and I dispersed his host. (chiasm)

Prism, col. V (OIP 2 p. 43)

- 53) ... a-na Bābili^{ki} te-bu-ni

Drawing near Babylon,

- 54) a-di ^{lú}Šu-zu-bi ^{kur}Kal-dà-ay šar Bābili^{ki}

with Šuzubu, the Chaldean king of Babylon,

- 55) a-na a-ḫa-meš ik-ru-bu-ma pu-ḫur-šu-nu in-nin-du

they exchanged courtesies and brought their host to a
 stand.

²⁹ Note the chiasm in this phrase.

Used in military contexts as "host," "army," or "troops".
 Note the poetic and literary parallels with *illatu* (see CAD I)³⁰.

Source: D. D. Luckenbill, **The Annals of Sennacherib**
 (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications II, 1924).

2.6.3 BM 51,9-2 (Slab-inscription 1 in Rost) (Nineveh,
 740 BC)

9) *āl šarru-ti-šu-nu raba-a kima til a-bu-bi u-ab-
 bit-ma šal-la-su aš-lu-la Nabû-u-šab-ši šarru-
 šu-nu*

the great city of his kingship I destroyed like a hill
 of ruins, I took his captives. Their king Nabû-
 ušabši

10) *mi-iḫ-rit abul āli-šu a-na za-qi-pi u-ši-li-ma
 māt-šu aššat-su mārī-šu mārāti-šu makkuru-šu*

I impaled in front of his city gate. His land, his
 wife, his sons, his daughters, his possessions,

11) *ni-šir-ti ša ekalli-šu aš-lu-la ^{māt}Bit-A-muk-ka-a-ni
 kima da-ay-aš-ti a-di-iš pu-ḫur niši-šu
 makkuru-šu*

the women of his palace I carried off. The land of
 Bit-Amukkani I threshed like a thresher. All of
 his people (and) his possessions

³⁰ However, *illatu* is only applied to enemy troops and appears to be a pejorative use (cf. CAD I).

12) a-na ^{ma}Aššur u-ra-a ...

I carried to Aššur ...

Given the parallelism, it is most likely that **puḫru nišī** here refers to the just-mentioned list of relatives, rather than to a separate group of people or to the entire surviving population of the area.

Source: Paul Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III, I* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 42ff.

2.6.4 Nebuchadnezzar II royal inscription # 17.

Col. I, p. 144f:

32) dannu ši-ri-im (33) [qa-ra]-du ka-ab-tu

[Marduk] outstanding in strength / the mighty hero,

34) [a-šir] pu-uḫ-ri (35) [^di]-gí-gí

the one who supervises³¹ the assembly of the Igigi

36) [ù ^da-nun]-na-ki (37) []

and Anunnaki

38) ^den-lil ilāni ti-iz-qa-ru

the Enlil of the gods is lofty.³²

Source: *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften (VAB 4)*, by Stephen Langdon.

³¹ CAD A₂ s.v. **ašāru** p. 420, lists definitions "to muster, organize,... to control, to instruct."

³² Cf. AHW p. 1363-4 s.v. **tizqāru**.

2.6.5 Nabonid #6.

Col I, p. 256:

34) ... ki-a-am az-kur-šú-nu-ti um-ma te-me-en la-bi-ri
 ši-te-'-ma

... thus I spoke to them: "Seek the old foundations
 and

35) pa-pa-ḥu ʿŠamši da-a-a-nu na-pa-li-sa-ma bīta
 dāra^a a-na ʿŠamaš u ʿa-a bēlī^{mes}-a ip-pu-uš
 look for the shrine of the judge Šamaš, then build an
 everlasting temple for Šamaš and Aya, my lords."

36) ina te-me-qu ʿŠamaš bēli-ya ina su-pi-e-šú šà
 ilāni rabūti puḥur mārē^{mes} um-me-a te-me-en
 la-bi-ri

With fervent prayers to Šamaš, my lord, and with
 supplications to the great gods, the assembly of
 artisans³³ sought for the ancient foundation.

37) ip-pal-su-ma pa-pa-ḥi u šubāti^{mes} i-ḥi-ṭu-ma

They traced out (even) the chambers and dwellings ...

Note that "the assembly of artisans" refers to a group of
 the king's craftsmen.

Source: **Neubabylonische Königsinschriften (VAB 4)**, by
 Stephen Langdon.

³³ DUMU.MEŠ UM.ME.A has a broad range of translations,
 including "scholar, expert, craftsman." The best
 translation is not that evident from the context.

2.6.6 Ashurbanipal inscription. Col. I:

- 6) *ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} ina puḫri-šu-nu ši-mat damiqti-
(tim) i-šim-mu*

The great gods in their assembly decreed a favorable
destiny,

- 7) *uz-nu ra-pa-āš-tum iš-ru-ku-u-ni*

great wisdom they gave to me,

- 8) *kul-lat dup-šar-ru-ti ú-ša-ḫi-zu ka-ra-ši*

all of the scribal arts they caused my mind to grasp,

- 9) *ina puḫur lu-li-me zi-kir šumi-ya ú-šar-ri-ḫu*

they exalted my name in the assembly of the stags,

- 10) *ú-šar-bu-u šarru-u-ri*

they magnified my rule.

Piepkorn translates *lulīmu* as "princes," although **CAD** and **AHW** only cite it as an epithet applied to kings or gods (note Malku I 3 *lu-li-mu* = *šar-ru*). The sense of the line is thus that Ashurbanipal is exalted above all other *kings*, not that he is foremost in the assembly of nobles.

Source: Piepkorn, **Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (AS 5)**, Edition B, p. 28.

2.6.7 Vassal treaty of Esarhaddon with Ramataya. (NA)

Col III p. 45 (among a list of obligations):

- 212) *šum-ma at-tu-nu UKKIN ta-šá-kan-a-ni a-ḫi-iš*

(You swear) that you will not hold an assembly; that
you will

213) tu-tam-ma-a-ni a-na 1-en ina lib-bi-ku-un LUGUL-u-
tu ta-dan-a-ni

not take an oath with one another giving the kingship
to one of you.

214) šum-ma at-tu-nu TA lib-bi ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú ŠEŠ.MEŠ.AD.MEŠ-šú
(You swear) that you will not cause one of his
brothers, his uncles,

215-223) exhaustive list of possibilities continues ...

224) 1-en ina lib-bi-ku-nu GIŠ.GU.ZA tu-šá-aš-bat-a-ni
anyone at all of you to seize the throne.

Note here that an assembly is mentioned in the context of
granting kingship to someone.

Col V, p. 57 (continued list of obligations):

373) šum-ma šar?-bu ša UGU³⁴ DINGIR.MEŠ ša pu-uḫ-ri
(You swear) that as for the šarbu³⁵ who is over the
gods of the assembly

374) lu pa-ni-ku-nu lu ŠU.II-ku-nu na-pul-ta-ku-nu
you will not anoint your face, your hands, or your
body;

³⁴ ša muḫḫi occurs as an idiom, "the one who is over" in the sense of being in charge of something. Cf. CAD M₂ s.v. muḫḫi 2 b) 2', p. 175. Wiseman takes ša muḫḫi as "that which is contrary to," in trying to make better sense of this difficult line.

³⁵ Frankena BiOr 18 (1961) p. 203b note to l. 22 of a tākultu ritual suggests that SAR-pu be read as šir-pu, which can be translated as "frankincense" or "fire." However, it is not obvious that "the fire/incense which is among the assembly of the gods" makes any sense of this passage.

375) ta-pa-šá-aš-a-ni lu ina si-qi -ku-nu
 you will not bind your with

376) ta-rak-kas-a-ni šá ma-mit pa-šá-ri te-ep-pa-šá-a-ni
 nor do anything to dissolve the oath.

Source: D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon*,
Iraq 20 (1958).

2.6.8 L⁴ Column I (NA)

Ashurbanipal boasting about his intellectual abilities:

14) ittāt šamê u KUR-tim am-ra-ku šú-ta-da-na-ku ina
 puḥur um-ma-a-ni

I am able to discuss with competence portents, both
 celestial and terrestrial, in the assembly of the
 experts.

15) šú-ta-bu-ka-ku šum-ma amūt mat.lat šamê it-ti
 NUN.NI-MEŠ li-'-u-ti

I am able to discuss the series "if the liver is a
 correspondence of the sky" with the wise
 apkallu's.

The readings above follow more accurate dictionary citations
 rather than Streck's original translation (See CAD A₁ p. 14,
 2e, amāru and Št of nadānu and CAD A₁ p. 28 10 c1' abālu).

Source: Streck, *Ashurbanipal* p. 254.

2.6.9 Annals of Ashurbanipal. (NA)

Address to the god Ninurta, Col. I:

- 8) nu-ur AN-e KUR-tim muš-par-đu ki-rib ZU.AB mu-ab-bit lim-nu-ti mu-šak-niš la ma-gi-ri mu-ḫal-liq za-ya-a-ri ša ina puḫur DINGIR-MEŠ
the light of heaven and earth, who brings fear in the midst of the Apsû, who destroys the wicked, who subjugates the rebellious, who destroys enemies, whose word in the assembly of the gods
- 9) zikir(MU)-šu ilu ma-am-ma la enû(u) qa-iš balāti ...
no god can reverse, the giver of life

Source: L. W. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria I* (London, 1902), p. 257.

2.6.10 Eighth Campaign of Sargon. (NA)

- 139) ū ša-a-šú i-na pu-ḫur karāši-šu e-sir-šú-ma
sisê³⁶ sinda-at ni-ri-šú i-na uš-ši mul-mul-li ú-sak-ki-ra šap-lu-uš-šu
and I surrounded him with all his troops, and his draft horses with uššu-arrows and mulmullu³⁶-arrows I wounded under him
- 140) a-na šú-zu-ub napšāti³⁶-šu narkabta-šú e-zib-ma i-na 'ANŠE.KUR.RA³⁶ ir-kab-ma miḫ-rit um-ma-ni-šú in-na-bit

³⁶ Literally "sparkling" arrows. Perhaps this refers to their metal tips, hence the urud determinative (MSL 7, 146), in contrast with uššu which uses the giš determinative (AHw p. 1439) and may usually refer to reed arrows. Metal-tipped arrows have greater armor-piercing capacity.

in order to save his life, he abandoned his chariot,
mounted a mare and fled ahead of his army.

- 141) 'Me-ta-at-ti ^{KUR}Zi-kir-ta-a-a a-di šarrâ^{mes}-ni šá
li-me-ti-šu pu-ḥur-šú-un ú-šam-qit-ma ú-par-ri-
ra ki-iš-ri-šú-un

Metatti the Zikirtian together with the kinglets, his
neighbors, all of them I defeated and scattered
their army.

- 175) a-lik pa-ni-šú-nu mu-du-ut qab-li šá la-pa-an
kakkī^{mes} ip-par-šid-du i-mat mu-ú-te saḥ-pu-ma
iq-ru-bu ši-ru-uš-šú-un

when their leaders, who, although experienced in
battle, had fled from the fight, arrived before
them covered with blood (lit. the venom of death),

- 176) da-lil 'A-šur be-li-ya šá i-na pu-ḥur ¹⁶mun-dáh-
ši-šu-nu mul-táh-ṭu la i-si-tu-ma ú-ša-an-nu-
šú-nu-ti-ma ik-šud-du mi-tu-ti-iš

and reported to them the glory of my lord Aššur, who
had not let one of their fighting troops escape,
they nearly died (of fright).

All the occurrences of **puḥru** in this text appear to be
prepositional uses.

Source: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la Huitième
Campagne de Sargon* (TCL 3, Paris: 1912).

Chapter 4.

Observations on assembly protocol.

Reviewing the primary source information available to us shows that the bulk of attested ancient assemblies were administrative in nature -- this is especially clear when we realize that divine assemblies were usually convened for administrative functions as well (to decree fates, respond to emergencies, etc.).

The largest surviving passage that presents an assembly at work is the *Atra-Hasis* epic. *Enuma eliš* also contains several assembly scenes, but we need to bear in mind that some of them may be non-normative when they deal with the choosing of a leader (Marduk) to preside over the assembly. From these major texts and the insights gleaned elsewhere, we can deduce the following features that characterize a typical administrative assembly:

1) Banqueting is a common prelude to a divine assembly.

2.1.1 (*Enuma* III 131, VI 68f); 2.5.6 (incantation).

Although no attested human administrative assemblies began with a meal and/or revelry, the gods, when not called into emergency session, often began with a banquet.¹

¹ The question arises that if there are no attested human parallels to banquets preceding assemblies, how was this ever ascribed to the gods? A similar issue appears with female god's involvement as equals in divine assemblies, which also has no human parallels (see below). Taking a cue from Jacobsen's analysis of the battle between Marduk and Tiamat in *Enuma eliš*

2) The terms used for a convened assembly are **ukkin-gar-ra** or **šakānu puhru**. 1.1.4 (Lugalbanda), 1.1.5 (Enmerkar), 1.3.10 (**SLTNi** 79), 2.1.1 (Enuma II 125).

These appear to be Sumerian and Akkadian idioms.

3) Members of the assembly normally sit when in session. 1.3.1 (Lam. Ur), 2.1.1 (Enuma II 126), 2.1.3 (Atra-Hasis II vi 15f), 2.5.6 (incantation), 2.5.11.1 (Dream Omen III ii 12). Apparently they formed a semi-circle or "siege shield" shape. 1.3.4.4 (**Šulgi** 0).

4) Persons addressing the assembly sometimes stand. 1.1.4 (Lugalbanda); 2.1.3 (Atra-Hasis I 103), messengers bow before standing to speak; 2.1.3 (Atra-Hasis I 122); 2.5.8 (**Šurpu** II 81).

Most commonly the speech of an assembly member/leader is introduced with "and he opened his mouth and said," with no mention that he stood up first. From this we propose that members normally sat to discuss and argue the matter at hand, but could stand for added effect.

5) Assembly leaders were located in the **šà-unken-na-ka** ("heart of the assembly"), or **ina birišunu** ("in their

(**JAOS** 88 (1968) p. 104-108), that a conflict between a thunder-storm god and a sea god has strong parallels in Ugaritic myths and suggests a Mediterranean origin for the epic, we propose as a hypothesis for further research that the female and banquet features of the divine assembly, since they are also common to both Ugaritic and Greek myths, similarly suggest a Mediterranean origin for themselves.

midst"). There are additional positions of honor in the assembly. King in 1.1.7 (Nungal), 1.3.10 (**SLTNi** 70); gods in 1.3.6 (Inanna hymn), 2.2.1 (Tamarisk); Kingu in 2.1.1 (Enuma I 147); Marduk in 2.1.1 (Enuma IV 15).

Although no clear seating arrangement is attested, special seats of honor are mentioned in addition to those reserved for the leaders. If we may generalize the semi-circle seating arrangement described in 1.3.4.4 (**Šulgi** 0), leaders sitting "in the heart of the assembly" probably means that they sat at its center, facing the other members (this would also be the logical position of honor among the assembly).

6) Divine assemblies occur in the **ubšu-ukkinna**. 2.1.1 (Enuma II 126, VI 140f).

Whenever a specific location for a divine assembly is given, it is most commonly in this holy area of a temple.

7) Voting or consensus were affirmed with "so be it" **a-an-na**, and roll call was taken in rank order. 2.1.3 (Atra-Hasis I iv 218, x rev. ii 44f).

Oaths or affirmations are made by the entire body, generally following the speech of one of the leaders. Since no clear situation is attested where a leader is

defeated in a vote,² it is difficult to distinguish assembly paradigms between a royal court format (where the leader hears advice but then issues a decree with which all must confirm) or a democracy (where the view of the majority carries the day).

8) Appeals are addressed to the leaders of the assembly (An and Enlil in 1.3.1 Lam. Ur).

Note that Inanna does not try to rally support for her position "from the floor" but feels that she can only appeal to An or Enlil directly. This adds weight to the idea that divine assemblies were modeled after the royal court.

9) Honor is accorded in the assembly by kissing feet. 1.1.3 (Zû), 2.1.3 (Atra-Hasis I 245), 2.1.1 (Enuma V 86).

It is interesting that the kissing of feet in praise is done both to female gods (Mah and Mami) and to male gods (Marduk). This act is in addition to praise by acclamation.

² In **Gilgamesh and Agga** (1.1.1.1), the elders of the city, according to Kramer's interpretation, recommend that Gilgamesh submit to the king of Kish. Gilgamesh then calls an assembly of the "men" (**guruš**) of the city, who agree with his plan to attack Kish. However, Römer's translation makes better sense of the story by having both councils agree with Gilgamesh. In any event, no matter how we translate this human epic, a leader's advice is never rejected in any attested divine assembly.

10) "Lifting the eye" in the assembly is a sign of approval or blessing 1.3.7 (Gudea hymn).

11) Female gods have an important role in the divine assembly and are co-leaders in some cases. Mah, "the lady of Norms" 1.1.3 (Zû), 1.3.1, 1.3.6 Inanna (Lam. Ur, hymn), Mami 2.1.3 (Atra-Hasis I 192f), 2.5.1 Ištar (hymn).

The sexual equality assumed in the myths and hymns is striking in light of the complete lack of evidence that women served on any human assemblies.³

12) Sumerian texts use the parallelism: "the command of the assembly of the gods / the directive of An and Enlil".

1.1.2 (Sumerian deluge), 1.3.1 (Lam. Ur).

This formula implies not merely that An and Enlil are joint leaders of the divine assembly, but that a royal court model fits its structure better than that of a divine democracy.

13) The idea of an assembly appears to have been added to some stories as it is not present in the oldest versions 1.1.1.1 (Gilg.), 1.3.1 (Lam. Ur), 2.1.2.2 (Enuma 3 IV), 2.2.1 (Tamarisk).

These examples cast some doubt on the universality of the assembly as a model of prehistoric human admini-

³ This was first observed by Jacobsen in *Primitive Democracy, Toward the Image Tammuz* p. 160, note 22.

stration. If the concept is being added in later redactions, it could be proposed that the assembly idea itself arose at a later time and was edited into earlier narratives to contemporize them. At the very least it seems to indicate that the power of assemblies increased in later societies. However, this issue is especially critical to the notion of primitive democracy, since the council of elders of Uruk, the **only** case where an assembly **may** refuse to go along with the wishes of its leader (depending on what interpretation we take of Gilgamesh and Agga, 1.1.1.1), does not appear in some of the Sumerian antecedents of the Gilgamesh cycle. Without clear cases of majority-rule or leadership-defeat in antecedent texts, we cannot argue for a prehistorical democratic ruling assembly; we can only say that leaders sought (or demanded) community consensus before they undertook major actions.

14) **Puḫrum** or **ukkin** can refer to a "multitude" 1.1.8 (Gudea), 1.4.2 (Ewe), "mob" 2.1.3 (Atra-Hasis), "gathering" 2.5.10 (incantation), or a specific "group" of previously denoted people 2.6.3 (BM 51).

This should caution us against assuming that every non-prepositional occurrence of the noun "assembly" refers to a formal meeting intended to conduct official business. It is possible that such an unruly or ill-

defined group is in mind in the proverb (2.2.4 Counsels of Wisdom) which warns:

- 31) ina pu-uḫ-ri e ta-'-ir ú-zu-uz-ma
 32) a-šar šal-tim-ma e tu-ut-tag-ge-eš
 33) ina šal-tim-ma i-ra-áš-šu-ka šim-ta
 34) ù at-ta a-na ši-bu-ti-šú-nu taš-šak-kin-ma
 35) a-na la di-ni-ka ub-ba-lu-ka a-na kun-ni
 36) ina pa-an šal-tim-ma pu-ṭur e tak-pu-ud
 37) lu-u šal-ta-ka-ma na-pi-iḫ-ta bul-li

"Do not frequent a law court [lit. assembly],
 Do not loiter where there is a dispute,
 For in the dispute they will have you as a *testifier*,
 Then you will be made their witness
 And they will bring you to a lawsuit not your own to
 affirm.
 When confronted with a dispute, go your way; pay no
 attention to it.
 Should it be a dispute of your own, extinguish the
 flame!"⁴

In light of the wider meaning of *puḫrum* attested from other passages, and in view of the parallelism ("do not loiter where there is a dispute") and the context -- that if you do, you may find yourself being the witness in a lawsuit -- it seems more plausible that this proverb is warning one to avoid the temptation of joining the crowd to watch a street-fight or similar quarrel. The proverb is sophisticated in that it does not caution about getting sucked into the actual fight or about being injured accidentally from being near it, but it notes the less obvious but very time-consuming fact that if someone is seriously hurt in the squabble

⁴ BWL p. 101 l. 31-37. Translating line 31 as "Do not go to stand in the assembly," Jacobsen sites this proverb as evidence that "judicial functions . . . did not constitute the prerogative of some small favored class . . . anybody who happened along and had a mind to could "stand" -- that is, participate -- in the *puḫrum*." (JNES II pp. 15-16).

and takes it to court, you may find yourself called in as a witness.⁵

The standard interpretation, as reflected in the above translations from **BWL** and **JNES II**, views the proverb as warning that the temptation to hang around law courts or legal assemblies should be resisted. However, I feel that this view is overly restrictive because it assumes that *puḥru* and *ṣaltu* imply a legal context (however informal). The notion that a *ṣaltu* can evolve into litigation is evident in the Assyrian Code:⁶

§ 8 **šumma sinništu ina ṣalte iška ša a'ili taḥtepe**

"If, in a quarrel, a woman crushes a man's testicle"

§ 18 **šumma a'ilu ana tappā'išu lu ina puzri lu in ṣalte iqbi**

"If a man says to his equal, either secretly or during a quarrel"

§ 19 **lu ina ṣalte ana pani ERÍN.MEŠ iqbiaššu**

"or he tells him during a quarrel in front of other men"

⁵ Dr. Sol Cohen agrees with the standard interpretation of this passage, noting comparative literature such as Ruth 4:1-12 (where Boaz acquires the redemption rights of Naomi and Ruth via an assembly in the city gate). In this assembly, Boaz selects "ten men of the elders of the city" (v. 2) and the litigation is confirmed by "all the people who were in the gate, and the elders" (v. 11). In the standard model the proverb in question views such involvement as dangerous and warns the reader to avoid legal assemblies wherever possible so that he will not be called upon again should there be a future appeal of the case.

⁶ From **CAD** s p. 86 s.v. *ṣaltu* 1b). For context, see Meeks' translations of the Assyrian Code in **ANET** p. 180ff.

Thus my preference is to read the passage as a warning against being an innocent bystander to a quarrel (*šaltu*) for which one becomes a witness in a later lawsuit (*dīnu*).

15) In several Sumerian texts the term *kalam* (*land*) occurs in parallel with *unken* (*assembly*). In some contexts it is clear that *unken* is being used as a generic term for *mankind* (i.e., *gathered people*). In other passages it is not so evident whether *mankind* or a genuine *assembly* is in view. The occurrences from Chapter 2 (Sumerian sources) are listed below in their order of clarity:

1.4.2 Ewe and Grain (Lahar and Ashnan).

54) *unken-na hé-gál mu-da-an-gál-le-eš*

And among the gathered people they caused abundance,

55) *kalam-ma zi šà-gál mu-da-an-gál-le-eš*

And in the Land they brought about well-being,

1.3.8 Execration of Enemies of Iddin-Dagan.

20) *sag-zi-kalam-ma-ka èn-tar-re ukkin-n[a-i]gi-gál*

Who cares for the righteous, who keeps an eye on mankind (the assembly?),

21) *nin-ti-la-ug₅-ga zi-kalam-ma-šu-du₈*

Queen of the living and the dead, who holds the life of the land in (her) hand,

1.3.4.3 Šulgi F.

30) *u₄-ba an-né ki-en-gi-ra nam bí-in-tar^{ar} kalam-e gù
ba-an-dé*

At that time, An determined the fate in Sumer, (and)
called to the land;

31) ^aaš-im-babbar-re unken-né ḥúl-l[a b]a-ta-an-è

Ašimbabbar brought out (the word) to mankind (if **unken**
= gathered people) to the gods (if **unken** = divine
assembly) in joy,

1.1.7 Nungal in the Ekur.

29) é-a mūš-bé dūr im-mi-in-gar kalam im-ta-ge-né

She sits in the house on its ..., she strengthens the
land,

30) lugal-ra šà-unken-na-ka igi mu-na-ni-gál

She has set her eye upon the king in the midst of the
assembly (mankind?).

16) Elena Cassin observes that divine councils are always
called by the *leader* of the assembly; in some cases the
possessive is used to denote the god who convened it
(referring to "his assembly" in 2.1.3 Atra-ḥasis S iv 4).
They are convened for a specific purpose, and do not have a
scheduled regular meeting cycle (monthly, etc.).⁷ This
observation seems to weaken the notion of a democratic body
that can be called into action by any god or concerned
committee of gods.

⁷ Note sur le "puḫru(m)" des dieux, in *La voix de
l'opposition en mesopotamie*, Bruxelles: Institut des hautes
études de Belgique, 1973. I would note that ritual texts do have
the divine assembly meeting on an annual basis to "decree the
fates" for the forthcoming year. Other than this, the assemblies
do appear to meet on an *ad hoc* basis.

Chapter 5.

Neobabylonian Temple Assemblies and the **Kiništu**.

Having reviewed the available texts that contain the words **puḫrum** or **ukkin**, we found few which occur in or involve a temple context. In order to widen the search for texts that bear on the theme of temple assemblies, we investigated sources which mention temple personnel who may be involved in assemblies (**kiništu**, **ramkû**), texts which mention locations where temple assemblies might convene (**kisallu**, **ubšu-ukkin-na**, **papaḫu**), or terms whose etymology may be suggestive of a temple meeting-place (**eginaptu**). These studies, with their various additional degrees of insight, are summarized in the following chapters and appendices.

Cuneiform texts from the Neobabylonian period occasionally mention a group of temple personnel called the **kiništu**. This term has attracted attention in recent years because it may refer to a temple administrative board that is distinct from the (secular) city administrative assembly (**puḫru**). Unfortunately, the analysis of and meaning given to **kiništu** has been uneven in the past, thus it is necessary that we review the occurrences of the term in some detail before we can delineate a proper range of meaning for the term. Having done this, we hope to provide a greater insight into the importance of the **kiništu** in temple affairs.

Kiništu is a loan word from the Aramaic **kni/uštā**, which is derived from the root **knš** = "to gather."¹ Although all of the citations in **CAD** are listed under the single definition, "class of priests of a low status (concerned with the preparation of food offerings)", and this meaning is followed by Renger in his discussion of temple craftsmen,² most contexts suggest that the term has somewhat more diversity, possibly even greater than that which the **AHW** definition "Priester-kollegium" (priestly staff/ assembly) implies.³

¹ **AHW** p. 480; **BDB** p. 1097; Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the midrashic literature* (New York: Choneb, 1926) vol. I p. 651.

² Johannes Renger, "Notes on the Goldsmiths, Jewelers, and Carpenters of Neobabylonian Eanna," **JAOS** 91 (1971), p. 498.

³ Dr. Victor Hurowitz called my attention to an occurrence of **kiništu** in a secular context: Antoine Cavigneaux and Bahija Khalil Ismail, *Die Statthalter von Suḫu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr., Baghdader Mitteilungen* 21 (1990) [Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Gebr. Mann] pp. 345ff, publish a letter reporting the building of a desert settlement (col. iii):

10) **um-ma** ¹⁶**KÚR** **šá** **it-ti-qu** **ina** **mi-nim-ma** **A^{meš}** **i-šat-ti**

How will the foreigner who draws by drink water?

11) **ina** **PÚ** **ni-iq-bu-ú-nu** **i-šat-ti** **ina** **maḫ-ri-ya** **URU** **ina**
muḫ-ḫi

From the well which we have established he can drink!
By me no settlement near it

12) **ul** **e-pu-uš** **e-pe-šú** **URU** **UR^{tu}** **ina** **līb-bi-ya** **ib-ši-ma** **ul-tu**

was built; so it occurred to me simply to build a
settlement. While

13) **SIG₄** **LÚ** **ki-na-al-ta** **ina** **UGU** **i-lab-bi-ni** **a-di** **la** **URU** **i-na**

A. General term for all temple personnel.

Often **kiništu** occurs as the last item in a list of titles or professions; consequently we must decide if **kiništu** itself comprises a separate group or if it is being used to summarize the previous list. That **kiništu** can be used in the latter collective sense seems evident from the Nabonidus text YOS 1 45 ii 30:⁴

aššum bursaggē ullulimma ḫiṭīti lā rašē

In order to keep the b-offerings ritually clean and not to have mistakes happen,⁵

ramkūt Ekišnugal u biṭāt ilāni

The consecrated⁶ personnel of Ekišnugal and the other temples,

ēnu išippi zabardabbū ¹⁶sirašū ¹⁶engiṣu

The high priest, purification priest, keeper of the bronze utensils, the brewer, temple cook,

the corvee people were making bricks, before the settlement

14) **UGU ip-pu-uš 20 LÚ gu-du-du šá ¹⁶a-ra-mu DU^{ku-nin}-ma**

was finished being built, came 20 Aramaic bandits

⁴ Discussed in F. M. Th. Böhl, *Die Tochter des Königs Nabonid, Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939) p. 166ff.

⁵ The translation of this line, which is uncertain at points, follows CAD B p. 333 s.v. **bursaggû**.

⁶ Derived from **ramāku** = "to bathe", the term means literally "the washed personnel" and applies to those who are involved in giving or preparing temple rites and offerings. I translate it as consecrated in the sense of "cleansed, set apart" without implying any nuance of permanence. For a review of the other occurrences of **ramku/ramkūtu** in the literature see appendix.

ārīru ¹⁶itingallu ¹⁶itinnu ¹⁶DUL-ŠAM-ĤA ¹⁶atû-gal-lu,
 miller, chief builder, builder, X, chief porter,⁷

¹⁶tīr bīti ¹⁶lagarru šākinu taqribti
 courtier of the temple,⁸ 1-priest who does
 intercessory rites

¹⁶nārē muḥaddû libbi ilāni
 singers gladdening the hearts of the gods,

¹⁶kiništum šūt nabû šumānšun
 the temple personnel, those who are mentioned by their
 titles,⁹

ilikšunu apturma šubarrašunu aškun
 I released them from ilku-(royal)-service and I
 established their work-exemption,

ubbibšunūtīma

I cleared them (of legal claims) and
 ana ⁴Sin û ⁴Ningal bēlē'a uzakkīšunūti
 for Sin and Ningal my masters I made them free.

Since *kiništu* appears as the last item in the list and is qualified by "those who are mentioned [above] by their titles," it appears to function as a summary term equivalent to *ramkūt(u)* in the opening line. Because this list includes the *ēnu*-priesthood, *kiništu* can hardly refer to a "class of priests of low status"; rather it should be

⁷ Cited in CAD N₂ p. 211 s.v. *nidugallu*.

⁸ *tīr bīti*, see AHW p. 1361. Dougherty believes that this term is equivalent to *ērib bīti*; Nabonidus and Belshazzar p. 125 fn. 410.

⁹ Translating the Akkadian literally, but taking *šumu* (name) as "title, or "position," which is within the range of meaning for *šumu*. Note Borger *Esarhaddon* 6 vii 25, *bānû bīti šumī imbi* = "(Aššur) named me Builder of the Temple" (CAD N₁ p. 33 1a2'b'), and TCL 6 54 r. 36, 33: *GIŠ.ĤUR.MEŠ mala ina bārûtu šumšunu nabû* = "the drawings (on the liver), as many as are mentioned in the corpus of extispicy." (*ibid.*, p. 35 1b2'c').

translated in the general sense of "temple personnel," independent of rank.

CT 2 2 also uses **kiništu** in this general sense:¹⁰ It records an investigation following the theft of a divine garment, and notes that the chief priest (**šangû**) and the **ērib bīti**'s [literally "one(s) who may enter the temple"] of Sippar gave orders to "search the storerooms of the **kiništi**" [**bīt šutummī ša ¹⁶kiništi bu'û**] for it. Some suspicious cloth is discovered, but the owner is cleared when he proves that he bought the material from an Egyptian. This search must have included all temple residences (except possibly the rooms of the ones authorizing the inquiry).

From these texts we may deduce that **kiništu**, like **ramkūtu**, is a general term for "temple personnel" and need not refer to a specific class of priests or workers.

B. The **kiništu** as a "group" or "assembly."

Kiništu, in addition to meaning "temple personnel," can have the more restricted sense of a "governing board" or "assembly". In this narrow usage, the **kiništu** can include the **ērib bīti**, as seen in **VAS 1 36 iv 5**, a kudurru from the time of Nabû-šum-iškun (~750 B.C.; published by F. Thureau-Dangin in **RA 16** (1919) p. 140ff):

¹⁰ Translation and some commentary are given by Oppenheim in **JNES 21** (1967) p. 250 n. 77. See earlier translation by Kohler and Peiser in **Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben IV** (Leipzig: 1898).

iii 5) **ina kanāk tuppi šuāti**

at the sealing of this document

(6) **NŠI mār A (7) ērib bīti ^dNabû šākin tēmi Bar-si-pa^{ki}**

PN¹¹ son of PN, ērib bīti of Nabû, the city prefect of
Barsippa

(8) **NE mār AE (9) ērib bīti ^dNabû šatam ekurrāti**

PN son of PN, ērib bīti of Nabû, administrator of the
temples,

(10) **NUŠ mār A ērib bīti ^dNabû (11) N mār AID ki.min**

PN son of PN, ērib bīti of Nabû; PN son of PN, ditto;

(12) **NU mār A šangû ^dAdad (13) NAE mār A ¹⁶ērib bīti
^dNabû**

PN son of PN, priest of Adad, PN son of PN, ērib bīti of
Nabû;

(14) **MŠU mār ITI ki.min (15) NZI mār IB ki.min**

PN son of PN, ditto;

PN son of PN, ditto;

(16) **NŠI mār A ki.min (17) Z mār KN ki.min**

PN son of PN, ditto;

PN son of PN, ditto;

(18) **M mār NS ki.min (19) A mār AID ērib bīti ^dNana'a**

PN son of PN, ditto; PN son of PN, ērib bīti of Nana'a;

(20) **D mār IS ki.min (21) Z ki.min**

PN son of PN, ditto;

PN, ditto;

(22) **BE mār ¹⁶nangari (23) ērib bīti ^dMār-bīti**

PN son of a carpenter, the ērib bīti of Mār-bīti;

iv 1) **NŠI mār AID (2) ērib bīti ^dSutiti**

PN son of PN,

the ērib bīti of Sutiti,

¹¹ Personal names are abbreviated here with initials.

(3) P mār KS akil nuḥatimmē (4) NL mār IA akil sirāšû

PN son of PN, cook-overseer, PN son of PN, brewer-overseer,¹²

(5) ēribû bīti kiništi šiḥir u rabi (6) šût Ezida
mala bašû

ērib bīti's, the kiništu small and great of Ezida, as
many as there were,

(7) izzizû u ṭupšarru

were present and the scribe

(8) NL mār IS (9) šangû ʿSutiti kalû ʿNabû

PN son of PN, the š-priest of Sutiti, the k-priest of
Nabû,

(10) ṭupšar Ezida izzazu

scribe of Ezida, was present.

Note line iv 5-7: "As many ērib bīti's as form the complete [lit: "small and great"] kiništi of Ezida were present". In this case the text is careful to note that all 18 members of this kiništu are ērib bīti's (assuming that aklu = overseers have this status by default). However, as there surely were many more temple personnel in Ezida than those mentioned here, the term kiništu in this text must refer to the "ratifying assembly" for this kudurru.

The use of kiništu to mean a "governing board/assembly" that includes the ērib bīti and other temple staff of

¹² Note from the context that the office of aklu is assumed to carry with it ērib bīti status.

various ranks seems to be illustrated in several tablets that record the interactions between a king or official and the temple administration. The members of this administrative board are listed using the formula:

Personal names,
Citizenship (i.e., free status),
Titles/Professions,
the summary term: **kiništu** of Eanna.¹³

For example, **An Or 8 48:16** (533/2 B.C.) lists 17 personal names, then gives their professions and citizenship as:

¹⁶TU.É ¹⁶UGULA-meš ¹⁶SIRAŠ-meš ¹⁶MU-meš ¹⁶GÍR.LÁ-meš

¹⁶<<KI>>¹⁴ TIN.TIR^{ki}-meš ù ¹⁶UNUG^{ki}-a-a ¹⁶kiništi Éanna =

"ērib bīti, overseers, brewers, cooks, carvers, [free] men of Babylon and Uruk, the ¹⁶kiništi of Eanna."¹⁵ Note that the term **kiništu** appears at the end of the list and is not preceded by an ù, indicating that it is probably being used in apposition to the list as a summary term for the board that the 17 men comprise. This apposition-sense seems to be strengthened in line 23, where the above title/citizenship list is repeated (omitting the personal names), and ends with: ¹⁶kiništi Éanna mala ina tuppi šaṭru = "the **kiništu** of Eanna, as many as are written in this tablet."

¹³ The order of citizenship and professions can be reversed.

¹⁴ Considered by CAD K p. 386 and M. San Nicolò *Archiv Orientalni* 6 (1934) p. 192 n. 2 to be a scribal error. This sign is not repeated in line 23.

¹⁵ In this text the **kiništu** determines that an individual is fit to be consecrated into priesthood and to receive the **isqu** (a stipend from a temple office). See San Nicolò *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934) p. 191ff.

A similar occurrence of **kiništu** appears in **YOS 7 20** (~538 B.C.), following a list of ten personal names:

- 11) ¹⁶**DUMU!**-meš **ba-ni-ya**¹⁶ ¹⁶**ki-na-al-tum**¹⁷ šá **É-an-na**
 free men, the **kiništu** of Eanna,
- 12) šá **date** (13) **date** **a-na** **PN** ¹⁶**SAG** **LUGAL**
 who on ... to **PN**, the **rēš šarri**
- 14) ¹⁶**EN** **pi-qit-tum** **É-an-na** **iq-bu-ú**
bēl **piqitti** of Eanna spoke
- 15) **um-ma** **ina** **DU.SU-i-ni** **ina** **UKKIN** šá ^{ur}**GAB-bi**
 thusly: in **X**, in the assembly of the city **Gabbi**,
- 16) **PN** ¹⁶**PA.KAB.DU**(šerku) šá ^d**GAŠAN** šá **UNUG**^{ki}
PN, a temple slave¹⁸ of the Lady of Uruk
- 17) ¹⁶**mu-saḥ-ḫi-ri** šá **EDIN** **ina** **muhḫi** **ta-bé-e**¹⁹
 a deputy of the steppe in the procession

¹⁶ Tremayne read our **DUMU!** as **GAL**, which would be translated as **rab banī** = "building inspector," **AHW** s.v. **rabû**, p. 938 D 6. However, our orthography is not attested elsewhere. Given the similarity of the **GAL** and **DUMU** signs, I prefer the more common term **mār banī** (**CAD** M₁ p. 256) = "citizen, free person." Note that the **-ya** ending is seen elsewhere (**VAS** 6 247:1; **TCL** 13 124:1), and that "free men" can be associated with a temple, not only a city (**YOS** 3 111:11, **CT** 22 5:12).

¹⁷ There are several variant writings for **kiništu**, which depend on dialectical variations in the middle vowel (**i/a**) and on the influence of the adjoining **t** (**-lt-** and **-rt-** are attested).

¹⁸ Following Muhammad A. Dandamaev, **Slavery in Babylonia**, revised edition, translated by Victoria A. Powell (Northern Illinois University Press, 1984), pp. 469ff, p. 556.

¹⁹ Vocalize as **tābē** from **tebû**, cf. **AHW** p. 1342, 3e.

18) šá ⁴Áš-ka-a-a-i-tum ina 1 KASKAL.GÍD(bēru) UD-mu šal-la-tum

of Aškayaitu in the first double-hour of the day, booty

19) GAL-tum a-na DINGIR-meš šá É-sag-ila É-zi-da
great for the gods of Esagila (and) Ezida

29) TIN.TIR^{ki} ù ^{ur}bar-sip^{ki} i-te-ru-ub
(into) Babylon and Barsippa entered.

30ff) witnesses.

Here the **kiništu**, which appears to be verifying the delivery of booty into temples,²⁰ is said to be comprised of "free men" (who have a greater legal status than slaves).²¹

In this context also note YOS 7 128 (~528 B.C.), where a person is on trial for killing a sheep belonging to a temple before the **puḫru mār Bābili u Uruk** ¹⁶**kinišum Eanna** = "the assembly of the citizens of Babylon and Uruk,"²² the **kiništu** of Eanna." UCP 9 66 no. 42:4 (~582

²⁰ Dougherty (*The Shirkûtu of Babylonian Deities*, YOSR 5/II, pp. 69, 90) and Speiser (*Unrecognized Dedication*, IEJ 13, pp. 71) feel temple slaves were involved in religious ceremonies and/or performed religious duties; Dandamaev feels that "in all probability the text implies that the action of the slave was considered illegal and for this reason was reported to the commissioner of Eanna as subject to the jurisdiction of the temple court (**Slavery**, p. 556).

²¹ Pessimistic remark: Both of the above examples could be translated as "... free men, temple personnel of Eanna" by taking **kiništu** to mean "general temple staff" as in meaning A above. Other than the fact that a specific number of men is listed, there is nothing in the context in these texts that implies that **kiništu** itself means "group" or "board" (other than its obvious etymology).

²² The important note to **mār banî** in CAD M₁ p. 257, suggests on the basis of the context from this (note lines 9 and 28) and other texts that **mār banî** is equivalent to **mār**

B.C.) is a receipt of ten sheep for "the citizens of Babylon and Uruk, the **kiništu**." Again, the lack of a conjunction **u** or **ù** implies grammatically that the terms **mār GN** and **kiništu** are being used in apposition.

C. The **kiništu** as a distinct class of temple personnel.

While we have noted that in some cases the term **kiništu** clearly includes the **ērib bīti** and other personnel, there seem to be many examples where it does not appear in apposition to a list of temple professions but instead forms one element of that list: **YOS 6 77** (~552 B.C.) lists at least 21 people involved in an interrogation surrounding the thefts of a temple gate-keeper, summarizing the list with **ēribū bīti** ¹⁶**kiništi ù mārū banī**.²³ Belshazzar consults high officials to determine the precedent for sending divine garments from Eanna to other rival cultic locations in **YOS 6 71** and **72** (duplicates from ~550 B.C.), which list this group as 16 named individuals made up of "Babylonians and Urukians, elders, **ērib bīti**, and (**ù**) the **kiništu** of Eanna."²⁴ Here the conjunction "and" appears to refer to a group distinct from the other professions listed, specifically from the **ērib bīti**. **YOS 3 152:8** (the Neobabylonian texts in **YOS 3** are not dated) is a letter

GN.

²³ "Free person, citizen." Cf. footnote 16.

²⁴ This profession list is repeated in line 26. For translation see Dougherty, **Nabonidus and Belshazzar**, **YOSR 15**, p. 127ff.

regarding monthly ritual practices (**paršu**) addressed to the
¹⁶**šatammu** ¹⁶**ēribū** **bīti** u ¹⁶**kiništi** **ša** **Eanna**.²⁵

Similarly, **YOS 3 6**, a letter from the king to all the
citizens of Uruk, refers to "ten or 15 elders and the
kiništi" in line 18:

1) **a-mat LUGAL** (2) **a-na** ¹⁶**UNUG**^{ki}-**a-a** (3) ¹⁶**AB.BA-meš** u ¹⁶**TUR-**
meš

Decree of the king to the Urukians, old and young.

4) **šu-lum ya-a-ši** (5) **līb-ba-ku-nu lu-ú** (6) **ṭa-ab-ku-nu-šú**

It is well with me, let your hearts be glad!

7) **ina muḥḥi É pa-pa-ḥa**²⁶ (8) **šá aq-bak-ku-nu-šú**

Regarding the shrine/cella about which I spoke to you,

9) **ki-i ina qaḡ-qa-ru** (10) **šá-nam-mu i-ṣak-ku-nu**²⁷

that at another site²⁸ is located,

²⁵ **Iraq 21** p. 163, no. 54 contains a very similar salutation on line 3.

²⁶ In the Neobabylonian period the **bīt papāḥu** refers to the cella wherein the god "sat" or "dwelt" (**ašābu**). See A. Falkenstein, **Topographie von Uruk I** (ADFU 3) for references and discussion, especially p. 44, where he cites **VAT 7849** iv 13-14, ⁴**papsukal u šarru qāt**¹¹ ⁴**anum ultu bára-gal is.s.abat**²⁶-**ma irrubma ina papāḥašu** [**ušš**]**ab** = "Papsukal and the king took the hand of Anu (and lead him) from Baragal and he entered into his cella and sat (there)." Note also **AO 7439** rs. 9-11, which uses the same wording regarding Ištar's involvement in the Akītu-festival. Other texts which Falkenstein sites from Uruk often refer to the **bīt papāḥu** as part of a larger temple structure (with courtyard, doors, anterooms, etc.).

²⁷ We amend the reading of Ebeling {**ba-āš-u**} as Clay's drawings allow for our attested expression (see **CAD Q** s.v. **qaḡgaru** A 5e citing **CT 34 33 iii 4** and other examples in the article).

²⁸ See **AHW** p. 1165, s.v. **šanû** II 3c; p. 901, s.v. **qaḡgaru** 8d.

- 11) a-na ¹⁶A.KIN-ya(mār šipriya) (12) kul-lim-ma
to my messenger disclose it²⁹
- 13) . . . (14) li-it-tu-[] (15) ya-a-nu-ú a-mat
If not the matter
- 16) ša-lim-ti a-na ¹⁶A.KIN-ya (17) ù 10 15 ¹⁶ši-bu-tú
openly to my messenger and 10-15 elders
- 18) ù ¹⁶ki-niš-ti (19) qí-ba-a-mu³⁰ lil-li-ku-um
and the³¹ kiništi you can speak, let them come
- 20) li-iq-bu-ni (21) šá la šá-la-mu (22) it-ti-ya
and (let them) tell me! The one who untrue (words) with me
- 23) i-dib-bu-ub (24) a-na ¹⁶EN da-ba-bi-šú (25) a-ta-ri
speaks, (as) his adversary I will become.

The king is addressing all the people of Uruk because he wants to know the location of some temple building, which for some reason people are afraid to disclose to him publicly. This fear could be apprehension of (1) reprisal, if the king is trying to find out something that the elders and kiništu do not want him to know. Thus he invites the informer to a private audience with him. Or, (2) losing a reward or recognition for discovering and/or disclosing the site, because corrupt local leaders might take the credit

²⁹ CAD K s.v. kullumu.

³⁰ Taking as a 2nd common plural imperative from qabû with an enclitic -ma (as -mu).

³¹ Note the grammatical possibility that the numeration "10 or 15" applies to BOTH the elders and kiništu, i.e., "10 or 15 men from the elders and kiništu." The idea is that the discloser tells the king's messenger in the presence of reliable witnesses.

and so divert it for themselves. If this latter case is true, then the king is probably trying to locate the original site of the shrine in order to refurbish it (see **qaqqaru** used in this sense of "old, original site" in the citations of **CAD Q** s.v., A 5e1'). As there may have been rewards and recognition at stake, the king invites people to tell him directly and privately where it is, if they are afraid of being "scooped."³²

An interesting parallel text lends strength to the interpretation that the king here is offering rewards to the workmen who find a cella's original foundation: A Nabonidus inscription notes that the king wished to refurbish the Ebarra temple of Šamaš in Sippar, so he called together various city, royal and temple officials and asked them to find the old foundation (**temmēnu**) of the **papāḫu** of Šamaš. They return and report that they found the foundation deposit of Naramsin.³³ While nothing in the text is mentioned about rewarding the finders, it would be unusual indeed for the king's obvious joy at the news not to have some positive benefit for the discoverers.

Fortunately, however we interpret the details of this letter, it clearly shows that **kiništu**, like "elder," is a specialized leadership term: The parallelism suggests that the **kiništu** are temple leaders and not general temple

³² Dr. Sol Cohen disagrees with this interpretation.

³³ Langdon, **Neubabylonische Königsinschriften (VAB 4)**, Nabonidus 6, i 31-40 (p. 254-7).

personnel, since the elders are city leaders, not merely common citizens (*mār Uruk* or ¹⁶*Uruk*) or free men.

Other examples which show a distinction between the *kiništu* and other temple personnel are: **TCL 9 143:3-7**, which warns that "no *ērib bīti* should interrupt his assigned duty, no *kiništu* should interrupt his assigned duty on the 2nd, 5th, 7th, and 15th day." **TCL 13 182:16** (~519 B.C.) records the judicial proceedings of a farm-land eviction and transfer carried out "ina *puḫur* of the citizens of Babylon and Uruk, the *ērib bīti* of Ištar of Uruk, and the *kiništi šūt Eanna*."³⁴ **An Or 12 p. 72 line 15ff**, a votive inscription of Aššur-eṭil-ilāni (~625 B.C.), is also not ambiguous:

15) u ša ¹⁶*ērib bīti* ¹⁶*kiništi niši šuāte*

and those of the temple enterers, temple personnel,
those people

16) *mal bašū mušallimu alkakātišu*

as many as there were, those who keep safe his (the
god's) ways,

17) *šubarra(šu)nu ana ūmē šāti iškun*

he established their (royal) work-exemption forever.

A very interesting text which refers to the *kiništu* as a limited group of temple personnel is **CT 36 pl. 9-10**, a

³⁴ See translation and discussion in D. Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559-520)*. Note that this text uses *kiništu* and *puḫru* for different meanings in the same context, but *puḫru* is written **UKKIN**, not ¹⁶**UKKIN**.

clay cylinder of Neriglissar (~560 B.C.):³⁵

- 9) **É-sig, si-ḫi-ir-tim É-sag-ila mi-iḫ-ra-at IM.SI.SÁ**
the perimeter wall³⁶ of Esagila facing north,³⁷
- 10) **ša ra-am-ku-tim ki-ni-iš-ti É-sag-ila**
where the consecrated³⁸ ones, the kiništi of Esagila
- 11) **ra-mu-ù qi-ri-ib-ša**
dwell³⁹ in her
- 12) **šá šar ma-aḫ-ri uš-ši-šá id-du-ma**
which an earlier king her foundations laid⁴⁰ but
- 13) **la ul-lu-ú ri-e-ši-ša**
did not raise⁴¹ its summit (finish building it)
- 14) **i-na ta-am-li-e iš-ta-ap-pi-lu-ma**
in terrace/fill they were always sinking⁴² and

³⁵ This text first appeared in **PSBA X** and was translated in **VAB 4** 216 ii 9. Unfortunately, the only significant revision in **CT 36** concerns our context -- the building in question is not a "treasury" but a perimeter wall (*igār siḫirtim*).

³⁶ So read by **CAD S** s.v. *siḫirtu* p. 235 1a; and **AHW** p. 1040, 6b. See parallel reading in **VAB 4** p. 182 ii 48 (cited in **CAD I** p. 38 2).

³⁷ Rendered *iltāni* by **CAD I** p. 268 s.v. *ištānu* 1a.

³⁸ See footnote 6 above.

³⁹ See **AHW** p. 953 s.v. *ramû* 6c.

⁴⁰ From *nadû*.

⁴¹ *ullû* D-stem from *elû*, see examples in **CAD E** p. 125 5a1'.

⁴² *ištappilūma* **AHW** p. 1169 s.v. *šapīlu*, Gtn-stem.

- 15) **i-ni-šú i-ga-ru-ša**
 were dilapidated⁴³ her walls
- 16) **ri-ik-sa-ti-ša la du-un-nu-nim**
 her seams⁴⁴ were not strong,
- 17) **si-ip-pu-šu la ku-un-nu-um**
 its doorframes were not in place,

While other texts imply that the **kiništu** had private residences,⁴⁵ the archaeological corroboration from Esagila for this text is insightful: Koldewey excavated two rooms within the perimeter wall on the north side of the Esagila courtyard that were behind a cella for the god Ea. Based on the remains found there, he speculated that these might have been dormitories for incubating dreams,⁴⁶ but from our text it is evident that the **kiništu** resided there. Given the size of the rooms and their location, clearly they were intended for a limited group of elite personnel.

D. The **kiništu** have vague cultic duties.

YOS 3 51, a letter of Iddina-ahu to the **šatammu** and to Nabû-ah-iddina, shows the involvement of the **kiništu** in the preparations for a monthly festival:

⁴³ **enišū** see **CAD E** s.v. **enēšu** p. 166.

⁴⁴ **AHW** p. 984 s.v. **riksu** B3b.

⁴⁵ The **kiništu** appear to live in their own separate area at Eanna also, as they had door-keepers (**YOS 7 16:10**, **PTS 2182**).

⁴⁶ R. Koldewey, **Das wieder erstehende Babylon** (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1925), p. 200f.

- 13) na-šap-pu KÙ.BABBAR A₄ (14) ki-i la qa-tu-ú
the previously mentioned silver container⁴⁷ that is
not finished
- 15) 1-en na-šap-pu KÙ.BABBAR (16) šá-nu-ú a-na eš-še-e-šú
one other silver container for the monthly festival
- 17) ki-niš-tum it-ti-šú-nu (18) liš-ku-nu
the kiništu with them⁴⁸ let (them) set up.

YOS 3 86 shows that the kiništu are not a group unique to Uruk, and that they accompanied the gods in their travels:

- 4) . . . ^{giš}MÁ (5) šá ^{1d}AG-MU-ib-ni
The boat which Nabû-šum-ibni
- 6) ul-tu bár-sip^{ki} (7) id-da-ak-ka-am-ma⁴⁹
from Barsippa will dispatch, and
- 8) ^{1u}ki-na-al-tum (9) šá é-sag-ila
the kiništu of Esagila
- 10) ina lîb-bi it-ti ^dna-na-a (11) ù ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki}
in it (the boat) with Nana'a and the Lady of Uruk
- 12) a-na UNUG^{ki} (13) ú-ri-du-⁵⁰
to Uruk will travel downstream,

⁴⁷ See CAD N₂ p. 56.

⁴⁸ "them" refers to additional people (šābu) which the sender of the letter is asking to have sent so they can assist in carrying offerings (tallu).

⁴⁹ For idekkamma, see CAD D dekû p. 124, 1a2' for citation.

⁵⁰ for urrada, CAD D ibid. and CAD A₂ p. 214 1a10'.

- 14) ^{giš}MÁ ^{lú}ki-na-al-tum (15) šá é-sag-ila
 the (above) boat the **kiništu** of Esagila
 16) ina bár-sip^{ki} (17) id-dan-nu-ú-ni⁵¹
 in Barsippa will give to me.

Note that there is nothing in these passages which implies that the **kiništu** are a lower-class priesthood with the specific cultic duties of food preparation. On the other hand, we should note that the **kiništu**-texts cited in this section are vague enough that they could refer to either a "governing board" or to "temple personnel" in the general sense noted in section A.

E. The relation of the **kiništu** to ¹⁶UKKIN.

Dougherty was the first to observe that ¹⁶UKKIN, which literally means "men of the assembly",⁵² appeared in certain contexts where **kiništu** might be expected (YOS 6 92:22 [a judgment concerning a house from ~549 B.C.], and 240:20 [a record giving testimony relating to an ox from ~545 B.C.])⁵³. Von Soden felt that in texts from the later Seleucid period (after 150 B.C.), ¹⁶UKKIN was to be taken as a word-sign for **kiništu** (CT 49 122:4, 147:4, 160:3, 168:6,

⁵¹ From **nadānu**, exceptional writing for a present tense with ventive and pronominal suffix, cf. TuM 2-3 35:11 cited in N₁ p. 45, 1b17'.

⁵² CAD apparently drops the **lú** determinative in its handling of these texts, cf. CT 49 citations s.v. **malāku A**, CAD M₁ p. 158.

⁵³ Raymond P. Dougherty, **Nabonidus and Belshazzar**, YOSR 15, p. 126, fn 411.

170:5, 190:33; also 140:9, 181:1, 182:4).⁵⁴ Unfortunately, neither scholar gave a justification for this diction or cited a text which proved the equivalence. Consequently there are two views in the literature on this idea: (1) in agreement with the equivalence, as is van der Spek;⁵⁵ (2) in maintaining there is a real distinction, as does Funck.⁵⁶ To better understand the subtle underlaying problems here, we need to review the political makeup of this period.

The Greek conquest of Babylonia marked the first time that the conquerors did not assimilate the Babylonian culture. But then, neither did the Babylonian culture die; instead the Greek rulers and Babylonian subjects co-existed for centuries, with the rulers continuing to honor and support the ancient Mesopotamian temple institutions. However, the Greeks often would establish and settle in new Greek cities, to which the native population might migrate, sometimes forcefully (as appears to have been the case with Seleucia near Babylon).⁵⁷

Thus in the case of the city Babylon, the only individuals living there towards the end of the Seleucid era were members of the temple community. Consequently there is

⁵⁴ **OLZ** 70 (1975), p. 462 [Review of **CAD K**]; and **AHW** p. 877 a s.v. **puḫrum**.

⁵⁵ **BiOr** 42 (1985) p. 542f.

⁵⁶ B. Funck, **Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit** (Berlin, 1984) pp. 278-295.

⁵⁷ Van der Spek, **BiOr** 42 p. 546, n 28.

no real distinction in Babylon between a "temple assembly" and a "secular assembly" because the temple community itself formed (what was left of) the city.⁵⁸ As a result, those who attempt to distinguish between a *kiništu* as the "temple assembly" and the *puḫru* as the "secular assembly" face considerable difficulty when working with Babylonian texts from this period. For example, McEwan proposes that the assembly in Babylon remained a temple assembly (so that the natives would be isolated from the Greek immigrants), while Uruk continued with a secular assembly (as there was not a appreciable Greek influx into the city).⁵⁹ This moderating view is challenged by Dandamaev on the grounds that all Babylonian assemblies were actually secular city assemblies,⁶⁰ and by van der Spek on the grounds that all Babylonian assemblies were first and foremost temple assemblies.⁶¹

It is my suspicion that the truth is larger than each model, and that Mesopotamian society at this date had secular assemblies to deal with secular administrative and

⁵⁸ Thus, unlike Funck (*Uruk* p. 282), we can deduce no great significance to the fact that the Babylonian assembly is referred to as the ¹⁶*UKKIN šá Esagila* and as the ¹⁶*E.KI.MEŠ* (Babylonians).

⁵⁹ McEwan, Gilbert, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia* (Wiesbaden: Steiner 1981) pp. 154ff, 189-190.

⁶⁰ *OLZ* 79 (1984) p. 145. After asserting and justifying the secular nature of the assembly, Dandamaev curiously goes on to comment that "membership in the assembly was indeed limited to those who were members of the temple community."

⁶¹ *BiOr* 42 p. 545.

legal affairs, and temple assemblies to be concerned with temple affairs. While they could meet together in a "joint session" in special cases where the subject was relevant to both public and temple sectors of the society, the normal occurrence of ¹⁶UKKIN refers to a city assembly, not the temple **kiništu**. McEwan and others are confused by the situation in late Seleucid Babylon because it had been reduced to a city of priests!

To add to the confusion are a series of texts in **CT 49** and **BRM I** which use ¹⁶UKKIN in the sense of "guild" or "trade union". **CT 49** 190:2' refers to ¹⁶UKKIN šá ¹⁶UŠ.BAR.MEŠ (the guild of weavers); 140:9' to ¹⁶UKKIN šá ¹⁶MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ šá É.SAG.GÍL (the guild of exorcists of Esagila); etc. Although von Soden and von der Spek offer these examples as evidence that ¹⁶UKKIN = **kiništu** in this period, they are hardly convincing since these groups are "temple assemblies" only in the sense that the guild members happen to be associated with a temple.

To return to the immediate problem -- how clearly can we link the logogram ¹⁶UKKIN with **kiništu**? If the **kiništu** is an administrative board, and thus a **puḫru** in the strict sense, but one which can be part of a larger assembly of temple or city personnel when the occasion demands it, then clearly the terms are not equivalent. Therefore, since none of the texts cited by van der Spek⁶² or Von Soden⁶³

⁶² BiOr 42 p. 545.

demonstrate an equivalence, we would agree with Funck that the terms should be distinguished. Thus we would conclude from our study that the ¹⁶**UKKIN** refers to (1) a secular assembly or (2) guild, while **kiništu** applies to a temple governing board.

F. Deductions from textual data.

From surveying the occurrences of **kiništu**, it appears that: (1) the term is very rarely used outside of a temple or sacral context;⁶³ (2) it occurs as a general term for "temple personnel," which is synonymous with **ramkūtu**; (3) it can also refer to an "assembly," "group," or "governing board" (which may or may not include personnel like the **ērib bīti**) in the same sense that **puḫrum** does in a secular setting. Given this disparity in the texts from "all consecrated temple personnel" to "an (elite?) temple governing board," it is doubtful that we can further resolve the meaning of **kiništu**. It is unfortunate that **CAD** deduces that the **kiništu** are temple priests involved in the preparation of food offerings, as this meaning is not borne out by the readings in their contexts.

The majority of texts do show that the **kiništu** (in the sense of a "board") plays an administrative role in temple

⁶³ **OLZ 70** (1975), p. 462 [Review of **CAD K**]; and **AHW** p. 877 a s.v. **puḫrum**.

⁶⁴ The only exception we are aware of was brought to our attention by Dr. Hurowitz (note 3) after he read a draft of this manuscript.

affairs: we see the **kiništu** trying burglary cases, determining **isqu**-status, and acting as witnesses to deliveries and land grants (**kudurrus**). When we can get some feel for its size, the **kiništu** ranges from 10 to 21 men. While it may be an artifact of the few surviving records, the **kiništu**'s involvement in cultic rites almost appears secondary: Except for **YOS 3 86** (the boatribe to/from Borsippa), the "assigned duties" of the **kiništu** are not accessible to us -- they may have been only administrative, or determined by the individual member's rank/specialization and not by his **kiništu**-status alone.

The texts also show us that the **kiništu** (in the sense of a "board") may not have been the supreme ruling authority of the temple precinct: Many administrative texts are addressed to other members of the temple community (the **šatammu**, and especially the **ērib bīti**) in a list form that implies that the **kiništu** is being seen as a *separate* entity from the others. As one text (**VAS 1 36**) hints, there may have been two levels of **kiništu** ("small and great"), as two levels of secular **puḫrum** ("small and great") are attested in the Old Assyrian merchant colonies.⁶⁵ Thus it is possible that a "small" **kiništu** dealt with everyday affairs, but convened as the "great" **kiništu** (now including all of the **ērib bīti**, etc.) for times of crisis and important ceremony.

⁶⁵ **Toward the Image of Tammuz**, p. 159, n. 11-12 [p. 398]. More recently, see Klaas R. Veenhof, **Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology** (Leiden, 1972); Paul Garelli, **Les Assyriens en Cappadoce** (Paris, 1963).

G. Relation of **kiništu** to the Hebrew synagogue.

Otto Schroeder was among the first to note the linguistic connection between the word **kiništu** and its Aramaic cognates which appear in the Targums.⁶⁶ On the basis of these he proposed that **kiništu** meant (1) "group of priests" or (2) "residence of this priestly group" or possibly even (3) "school," since synagogues were often places of instruction. Our review of texts brought to light since his study confirm his first meaning, weaken his second, and rule out his proposal of "school." No texts hint that the **kiništu** were involved in teaching or training other priests, but they do show a definite administrative involvement with temple affairs.

Moshe Weinfeld touches on this issue when he discusses the origin of the synagogue as part of an article on the origin of apodictic law in Israel.⁶⁷ He speculates that this new institution arose as a by-product of a shift from royal to community support of temple needs in the Persian and Greek periods. Evidence for this shift from state to believer maintenance is deduced from the rise of religious societies throughout these empires for this expressed purpose. For example, in Judah during the Second Temple period, two support groups are evident: a **keneset** of priests who assisted in the work of the temple, and the Great Assembly (**keneset ha-gedolā**) composed of delegates

⁶⁶ Otto Schroeder, **OLZ** 9 (1916), p. 268ff.

⁶⁷ **Tarbiz** 41 (1971-72), p. 349ff, in Hebrew.

from the population at large.

Although tradition tells that the **keneset** or synagogue got its start from the assemblies organized by Ezra, the linguistic similarity between the Hebrew **keneset** and the Akkadian **kiništu** suggests that the two institutions may be related. The vehicle for this relationship would be the Babylonian and Hebrew cultural intermingling that occurred during the exile (586-538 B.C.).

Weinfeld gathers textual evidence to support the notion that both types of **keneset** (A: priests and B: delegates) have Babylonian parallels. For the priest connection, Weinfeld appeals to the **CAD** definition that **kiništu** refers to a group of priests centered around the temple. However, from our review of the texts, we deduced that **kiništu** was not a group or class of priests, but an administrative board comprised heavily, if not entirely, of non-priestly temple personnel (craftsmen and others of **ērib bīti** status, etc.). Thus a **keneset-kiništu** priestly parallel does not appear to be valid because the composition of the two groups is so different.

Similarly, a **keneset** composed of delegates from the lay community also finds very tenuous parallels in the Babylonian culture. Here the discrepancy between what Weinfeld calls "a congregation or gathering of the temple" and the **kiništu** concerns both the composition of the group (how we define "lay people") as well as its function (administrative oversight or actual involvement in worship).

For example, Weinfeld cites **TCL 13 182** (~519 B.C.) because it mentions "the assembly of the sons of Babylon and Uruk, the **erib bīti**⁶⁸ of Ištar of Uruk, and the **kiništu** of Eanna." The tablet records the administrative dealings surrounding a defaulted rental agreement, where the rent was to go to the Eanna temple. In this and other similar texts discussed earlier, we noted that **kiništu** is *not* the term used for the entire assembly, but only for one component of it (presumably the **kiništu** of temple personnel):

YOS 6 71 and 72: "Babylonians and Urukians, elders,

erib bīti, and (ù) the kiništu of Eanna."

YOS 6 77: **erib bīti** ¹⁶**kiništi ù mār banī.**

Other texts are more ambiguous because we cannot tell if the terms listed are independent or in apposition:

YOS 7 20: **mār! banī kinaltu šá Eanna**

free men, the **kiništu** of Eanna.

YOS 7 128: **puḫru mār Bābili u Uruk** ¹⁶**kiništum Eanna**

"the assembly of the citizens of Babylon and Uruk, the **kiništu** of Eanna."

UCP 9 66 no. 42:4: "the citizens of Babylon and Uruk, the **kiništu.**"

Even if we understand these last examples as demonstrating that a **kiništu** could be composed of "citizens" in contrast to "temple personnel" (which is probably not

⁶⁸ **erib bīti** occurs here in the singular, but it is undoubtedly being used as a class-noun (cf. **YOS 6 71, 72**) because more than one person held **erib bīti** status.

justified), Weinfeld's hypothesis still has difficulty because the terms **mār banī** or **mār GN** mean "free person," not "lay person."⁶⁹ Temple personnel could be slaves who would not be permitted to have a role in a governing assembly.⁷⁰ Hence we find phrases like the "free persons of Esagila" (a temple in the city of Babylon) attested in some tablets (YOS 3 111:11). Therefore, imposing on a social-status term (free/slave) a cult-status distinction (laity/priest) cannot be done with complete assurance.

Weinfeld cites the very difficult "Hyspaosines" text to support his hypothesis that "the population which was in these regions was organized as a religious community around the temple." This text was first published by Pinches⁷¹ and subsequently treated by Unger, Landsberger and McEwan⁷². It remains hard to understand because of our lack of knowledge about its cultural setting. The latest and probably still not the final word on this text has been

⁶⁹ M. A. Dandamayev, *The Neo-Babylonian Citizens*, *Klio* 63 (1981), pp. 45-49.

⁷⁰ On the relative rights and privileges of slave and free persons, see Dandamaev, *Slavery*, p. 467 n. 504; also discussion on pp. 86f, 386ff. While I am not aware of a text in which it is explicitly stated that a temple slave (**šerku**) has **ērib bīti** status, it is possible that in some rare cases (where a temple artisan or official was also a slave [Dandamaev, *Slavery*, p. 512ff]) their duties required it.

⁷¹ BOR 4 p. 132ff.

⁷² E. Unger, *Babylon: Die Heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier* (Berlin, Leipzig: 1931) p. 319 ff. B. Landsberger, *ZA* 41 (1933) p. 298ff. G. McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, p. 17-21.

offered by van der Spek, who undertakes a thorough genealogical analysis and study of parallel texts to ferret out its meaning.⁷³ Van der Spek views this text as the record of a ¹⁶**UKKIN** of Esagila composed of Babylonians in which the sons of a certain astrologer claimed their (deceased or retired) father's prebend, which they were given after they demonstrated that they were capable of making astrological observations themselves. Viewed in this light, this text does not show that lay-people were pledging support to the temple in a manner paralleled by that seen in the book of Nehemiah; rather it shows that the temple administration and staff were merely adding new members to the payroll. The misleading term in the text is "Babylonians": as we noted earlier, by this late date (127 B.C.) Babylon was reduced to a city of priests, hence the city itself comprised a temple community, not a lay community. This same weakness applies to all of the references to the ¹⁶**puḫru** of Esagila that occur in the late Seleucid texts in **CT 49**. Thus these texts do not illustrate a temple-laity relationship of the type that we might at first expect from them.

In reflection it is not difficult to explain why the Babylonian culture contains only limited parallels for the Hebrew "lay-congregation of the temple." Temples, like royal palaces, were not public places in Babylonia. Entry to the house of the god required special status (**ērib bīti**)

⁷³ **BiOr** 42 p. 548ff.

that was granted on an individual, not a collective basis. The general population viewed the gods only during the holiday processions (**akitu**-festival, etc.), and had no part in the secret daily rituals.⁷⁴

On the other hand, Weinfeld is probably correct in noting that the Neobabylonian **kiništu** may be the precursor of the later religious societies. Although originally composed of temple personnel (non-priestly craftsmen, cult assistants, and not merely priests) and mostly involved with administrative duties, it is logical to suppose that this board could have absorbed more and more "secular" members as royal support of the temples eroded and the community of believers was tapped to provide for cultic maintenance. However, the abandonment of royal support for the temples in Babylonia is poorly documented, and certainly did not begin until well after the Neobabylonian period. Thus the Hebrews would not have seen the model of community-only support for a local Babylonian temple practiced during their exile.

In conclusion, the **keneset** as an "assembly of priests" does not parallel the Babylonian administrative council of general temple personnel that is termed a **kiništu**.

⁷⁴ The common colophon to ritual texts reads "The rites which you shall perform may be seen by the novice; the stranger or outsider may not see them, or his days will be cut short. The initiate is to teach them to the initiate; the profane person may not see them; it is among the things forbidden by the great gods, Anu, Enlil, and Ea." (cf. S. H. Hooke, **Babylonian and Assyrian Religion**, p. 53). Clearly the rituals were not intended to be a part of public worship. For further background details see A. Leo Oppenheim, **Ancient Mesopotamia**, revised edition, p. 183ff.

Moreover, we cannot show that **kiništu** occurs in any Babylonian context that links it with a supposed secular community of lay believers, from whom delegates form the **keneset ha-gedolā**. The term **mār banī** ("free persons") that sometimes appears in close association with the **kiništu** only indicates that the individuals so-called have the legal status to be involved with administrative assemblies, but does not imply *by itself* that they have any interest in or adherence to the cult of the particular temple with which they are dealing. Thus, while it is possible that **kiništu** and **keneset** have more than a cognate linguistic relation (probably they assumed parallel administrative duties), their composition clearly differs. From our review of the Akkadian evidence cited by Weinfeld, it appears that his proposal to trace the origin of the Hebrew synagogue of lay-people to this Babylonian temple institution needs to be based on stronger source materials.

Chapter 6.

The **Ubšu-ukkin-na**

One type of temple assembly which we are aware of involves the gathering of the deities themselves at a location referred to as the **ubšu-ukkin-na**. A survey of the occurrences of this term allows us to glean a few details about the nature of the divine assembly and its relation to the temple.

A. The term **ubšu-ukkin-na** refers to a specific location within a temple complex.

Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur (AS 12), S.N. Kramer.

48) **še-ib-urí^{ki}-ma a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**

O brickwork of Ur, a bitter lament set up as your lament.

49) **é-kiš-šir_s(!)-gál(!) a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**

O Ekišširgal, a bitter lament set up as your lament.

50) **èš-é-nun-kug a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**

O shrine of Enunkug, a bitter lament set up as your lament.

51) **ki-ùr ki-gal a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**

O Kiur, the kigallu, a bitter lament set up as your lament.

52) **èš-nibru^{ki} URÚ(?) a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**

O shrine of Nippur... a bitter lament set up as your lament.

53) **še-ib-é-kur-ra a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**

O brickwork of Ekur, a bitter lament set up as your lament.

- 54) **mà-giš-šú-a a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**
 O Magiššua, a bitter lament set up as your lament.
- 55) **ub-šu-kin-na a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**
 O ubšu-ukkin-na, a bitter lament set up as your lament.
- 56) **še(!)-ib(!)-urú-kug-ga a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu
 GAR-ra**
 O brickwork of Urukug... a bitter lament set up as your
 lament.
- 57) **é-SIL-sír-sír-ra a-še-ir-gig-ga a-še-ir-zu GAR-ra**
 O E-sil-sir-sir, a bitter lament set up as your lament.

In the immediate context the writer calls upon a large number of specific shrines (èš), temples (é), and brickwork (še-ib)¹ from neighboring cities to mourn in sympathy over Ur. The **ubšu-ukkin-na** is one of the sites which is appealed to by name.

Nippur Lament (ms. Green at U. Mus.)

- 5) **ŠID-nibru^{ki} èš dur-an-ki-a**
 The XX of Nippur, the shrine "Bond of heaven and
 earth,"
- 6) **udu-dib-gin, íb-sìg ki-bi me-na gi₄-gi₄**
 is made into desolation. When will it be restored?
- 7) **ki-ùr ki-gal ba-dù-a-bi**
 The Ki'ur, the great place, though well built,
- 8) **še-eb é-kur-ra ba-dù-a-bi**
 The brickwork of Ekur, though well built,

¹ The use of these terms in such poetic clusters may suggest that they are synonymous.

- 9) **ub-šu-ukkin-na ba-dù-a-bi**

The ubšu-ukkin-na, though well built,

- 10) **èš é-{gal-mah} ba-dù-a-bi**

The shrine -- how mightily was it built! --

- 11) **udu-dib-gin, íb-sìg ki-bi me-na gi₄-gi₄**

is made into desolation. When will it be restored?

"Hymn to the Ekur", S.N. Kramer, *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali* 32 (1957), Scritti in onore di Giuseppe Furlani, p. 95ff. Tablet UM 29-16-51 dates from the "first half of the second millennium."

- 1) **é-gal kur-ra àm-gal**

The great house -- it is great on the mountain,

- 2) **é^den-líl-lá kur-ra àm-gal**

The house of Enlil -- it is great on the mountain,

- 3) **é^dnin-líl-lá kur-ra àm-gal**

The house of Ninlil -- it is great on the mountain,

- 4) **é-itim-ma kur-ra àm-gal**

The house of darkness -- it is great on the mountain,

- 5) **é-u₄-nu-zu kur-ra àm-gal**

The house which knows no light -- it is great on the mountain,

- 6) **é-ká-mah kur-ra àm-gal**

The house of the exalted gate -- it is great on the mountain,

- 7) **é-ká-silim-ma kur-ra àm-gal**

The house of the peaceful gate -- it is great on the mountain,

- 8) **kisal-^den-líl-lá kur-ra àm-gal**
The courtyard of Enlil -- it is great on the mountain,
- 9) **hur-sag-kalam-ma kur-ra àm-gal**
The *hursagkalamma* -- it is great on the mountain,
- 10) **ká-gal-di-kù kur-ra àm-gal**
The great gate "holy judgment" -- it is great on the mountain,
- 11) **ká-še-nu-ku, kur-ra àm-gal**
The gate "uncut grain"² -- it is great on the mountain,
- 12) **ub-šu-kin, -na kur-ra àm-gal**
The *ubšu-ukkin-na* -- it is great on the mountain,
- 13) **gá-giš-šú-a kur-ra àm-gal**
The *ga-giš-šu-a* -- it is great on the mountain,
- 14) **é-^dnin-líl-lá kur-ra àm-gal**
The house of Ninlil -- it is great on the mountain,

In all of the above cases the term occurs among a list of topographic names of shrines, courts, gates, etc. associated with the Ekur temple at Nippur. Unfortunately, the logical or topographic relationship between these sites is difficult to establish.

² Cooper, following the suggestion of Falkenstein, argues that this problematic name should be rendered, "Gate from Which Grain Is Never Diverted" in the sense that an unending supply of grain for temple offerings flows through it (*The Curse of Agade*, l. 124, see note p. 247). For other citations of this gate, see references in Falkenstein *ZA* 57 p. 43ff., and Kutscher *YNER* 6 p. 110.

UTUGIN ETA "Come Out like the Sun!" in *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia*, Mark E. Cohen, 1988.

- 15) a-a ^dMu-ul-líl [urú-ta Ni]bru^{ki}-ta
father Enlil (...) in his city Nippur,
- 16) é-kur é-šà-ge-pà-da-ta
in the Ekur, the favorite house,
- 17) gi-gun₄-na ^{giš}tir-šim-^{giš}eren-na-zu
in the temple, a forest of fragrant cedar,
- 18) kissa-a-ka urì-[íl-la]-ta
in the supporting wall, the raised standard,
- 19) é-šar-ra é-u₆-[di]-ta
in the Esharra, the marvelous house,
- 20) [itima]-kù é-u₄-nu-zu-ta
in the holy cella, the house that knows not the
daylight,
- 21) [é-g]i-dim-dim é-i-bí-[nu-bar-re-ta]
in the Egidimdim, the house no one may see,
- 22) [ká]-maḥ hi-li d[u₆-du₆-a]-ta
at the great gate, decorated lavishly,
- 23) [ká]-múš-a ^{giš}ig-[lu-lim-a]-ta
at the gate to the platform the "Stag-door,"
- 24) [kun]-sag kun'-é-[a]-ta
at the main staircase, the staircase to the house,
- 25) [ká]-silim-[ma mu-mar-mar-ra]-ta
at the "Gate-of-peace," with inlaid wood,
- 26) [kisal-maḥ-e ám-šár-šár-ra]-ta
in the main courtyard (full of) numerous things,

- 27) [ḥur-sag-galam-ma an-da sá-a]-ta
in the *hursaggalama*, which rivals the heavens,
- 28) [abul-mu še-er-ka-an-du₁₁-ga]-ta
at my entrance gate, lavishly decorated,
- 29) [ká-še-nu-ku ní-ḥuš gūr-ru]-ta
at the "Gate-where-grain-is-not-cut," bearing
terrifying awe,
- 30) [ub-šu-un-kin-na me-zi ḥal-ḥal]-ta
in the *ubšu-ukkin-na*, wherein the appropriate *me*'s are
allotted,
- 31) [mà-giš-šú-a u₅-zé-eb ku₄-ku₄]-ta
in the *magishua*, wherein enters the best quality fat,
- 32) [x-ta-^dNammu eš-bar-ak]-ta
in the "... of Nammu," wherein decisions are rendered,

Like the Nippur Lament, the immediate context around line 30 describes Nippur, referring to its temples, gates, and other features. What is noteworthy in this passage is that several other locales are mentioned "where judgments are rendered."³

Afo Bei 9, Esarhaddon Inscriptions, episode 41, p. 28, l.

37-43:

... ina nap-ḥar / ṣal-mat qaqqadi ḥalāq(ZĀH)-šú /liq-bi
... may he [Marduk] declare his ruin among all the
"black-headed" (people),

³ line 32: "in the '... of Nammu,' wherein decisions are rendered"; 34: "in the house, Egalmah, the place where great judgments are rendered"; 40-41: "... Enlil, the Duku, the holy place, in the place where the fates are determined."

ina Ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki / ki-sal puḥur ilāni^{meš} šu-bat /
 ši-tul-ti

in the Ubšu-ukkin-na, the courtyard of the assembly of
 the gods, the place of conferring,⁴

a-mat-su / li-lam-min₄-ma u₄-mu / iš-tēn^{en} la ba-laṭ-su
 liq-bi

may he make bad his reputation, may he not let him live
 for even one day!

Labartu-text, ZA 16 (1902) p. 158:

7) ú-tam-me-ki ^dA-nim abi ilāni rabūti

I swear to you by Anu, the father of the great gods,

8-16) "ditto" [= I swear to you] by Ea and a list of other
 gods,

17) Ub-šú-kin-na^{ki} šú-bat ši-tul-ti ilāni rabūti ša qí-rib
 E-kur túm-ma-ti

by Ubšu-ukkin-na, the place of discussion⁵ of the
 great gods, in the midst of Ekur, you have sworn.

K.3446+8830:15 (CAD K p. 418, courtesy Lambert):

[ina U]bšukinnaki kisal ukkin dingir.meš ašar dīni
 [māti ibb]irru

⁴ For discussion of *šitūltu* see Jacobsen, *Tammuz*, p. 405, n. 53. The infinitive literally means "to ask one another," with the translation range of "to deliberate, reflect, to take counsel, consult, confer; to question, interrogate" (CAD Š p. 274 s.v. *šālu* A 3, 4). AHW p. 1253 renders it as "Beratung."

⁵ The German translation in ZA is *Entscheidung*, literally "decision," but *šitūlti* is better translated as shown.

In the **Ubšu-ukkin-na**, the courtyard of the assembly of the gods, where the judgment of the land is observed [N-preterit subjunctive from **barû?**]

Note that these texts describe the **ubšu-ukkin-na** as a courtyard and a "place of conferring".

B. The location of the **ubšu-ukkin-na**.

Although the **ubšu-ukkin-na** is most often thought of in relation to Nippur, locations of the same name are associated with temples in Girsu, Babylon and Uruk. In the late Uruk Rēš temple, Falkenstein correlated archaeological findings with ritual texts to conclude that the **ubšu-ukkin-na** was a large courtyard in front of the central temple building. At this temple, the **kisalmahḫu** was a separate courtyard on the inside of this central building.⁶

In discussing the **ubšu-ukkin-na** mentioned in Gudea Cylinder A, Falkenstein speculates that it was a courtyard of the Eninnu temple in Girsu which may have been related to the **kisal-mah**. However, we cannot be certain about this connection because in later texts the two have different

⁶ This distinction between the **kisal-mah** and **ubšu(n)kenna** is maintained as early as the Ur III period. See **ZA NF 48** (1944) p. 98 fn. 2 and **Topographie von Uruk I (ADFU 3)**, pp. 10, 12, 22. For general background references on temple architecture, see Henri Frankfort, **The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient**, 4th revised printing (Baltimore: Penguin, 1969), pp. 6-8, 21-23, 51-54; Ernst Heinrich, **Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im alten Mesopotamien** (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982); and Penhas Delougaz and Seton Lloyd, **Pre-Sargonic Temples in the Diyala Region (OIP 58 1942)**.

dimensions.⁷

F. Wetzell and F.H. Weissbach's analysis⁸ of the texts and archaeological finds from the Esagila temple of Marduk in Babylon paint a picture that is hardly clearer than that seen elsewhere. Most confusing is the so-called Esagila Tablet⁹ which lists the dimensions of the **kisalmahhu** as 103m by 81m. This is appreciably larger than the actual measurements of the temple itself (86m x 79m), and almost exactly three times greater than the largest central temple courtyard -- that otherwise would be considered the **kisalmahhu**. Since the tablet measurements also do not agree with any court sizes in an adjacent annex building, Weissbach mentions Landsberger's suggestion that the two courts may have been so close together that the measurements for the **kisalmahhu** included those of the **ubšu-ukkin-na** and other courtyards.¹⁰ Von Soden rejects Landsberger's proposal as too contorted, and suggests that the tablet idealizes the actual areas for some unspecified reason.¹¹

Weissbach's own proposal to resolve the discrepancy between the tablet measurements and the archaeological

⁷ *AnOr* 30 p. 141, discussion of line 50.

⁸ *Das Hauptheiligtum des Marduk in Babylon, Esagila und Etemenanki* (WVDOG 59).

⁹ *TCL* 6, 32; see Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 191, 246 and more recently A. Parrot, *Ziggurats et Tour de Babel* (1949), pp. 22-28; Th. Busink, *JEOL* 21 (1969/70) p. 125, 137f.

¹⁰ *WVDOG* 59 p. 55-6.

¹¹ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 200 (1938), p. 520.

findings is to conclude that the **kisalmahhu** was not a part of the immediate temple complex.¹² Since this is out of line with our knowledge of the Uruk temple, we tend to concur with von Soden that the accuracy of the tablet numbers should not be stressed and the **kisalmahhu** of Esagila was probably the central courtyard of the main temple complex.

Unfortunately, this confusion in placing the **kisalmahhu** carries over somewhat to the location of the **ubšu-ukkin-na** at Babylon. Ritual texts from Esagila list the **parak šimāte** ("adytum¹³ of decision") as a votive station for Marduk to visit before he goes out to the processional street.¹⁴ Because it is the last station listed inside the temple, Weissbach concludes that the **ubšu-ukkin-na** is probably one of the forecourts in the main temple annex. That the **ubšu-ukkin-na** was considered a part of the immediate temple complex is also confirmed by the Esagila Tablet, which mentions the **ubšu-ukkin-na** twice in the context of the Marduk temple.

¹² WVD OG 59, p. 57.

¹³ Jin Sup Kim, in his Ph.D. thesis *BARAG in Sumerian Literature: A Study of Historical Semantics with Emphasis on its Referent and Cultural Function* (Annenberg Research Institute, 1991), argues that **parakku** is better translated as *adytum* (from the Greek, meaning "not to be entered"), the innermost room of a temple or shrine, rather than as "dias" or as "smaller structures upon which a throne could be placed to lift the seat of the king (or deity) above the level of its surroundings." (*CAD D* p. 166).

¹⁴ WVD OG 59, p. 61, fn 12.

Unger is less certain about the location of the Babylonian **ubšu-ukkin-na**,¹⁵ noting a text from Nebuchadnezzar which indicates that the gate between the **ubšu-ukkin-na** and the procession street is called **KÁ-NIN** ("gate of the lady").¹⁶ However, he interprets the text to be referring to a specially paved "side street" off the processional way, which he assumes would lead to a secondary building other than Esagila or an Esagila forecourt. However, in reviewing this text, there is nothing to merit the assumption of a side street or secondary building, and it can easily refer to an elaborately paved and decorated gate connecting an Esagila forecourt with the processional street. It should be noted that Unger later comments¹⁷ that this obscure reference to **KÁ-NIN** could be read as **KÁ-SIKIL-LA**, which is the "holy portal" of the adjoining ziggurat complex Etemenanki.

Although we have no clear idea where the **ubšu-ukkin-na** at Babylon was located, we can deduce from several references that it housed the **parak šimāte** (composed of a **du'um** and a **mūšabu/ šubtu**). Given how it was decorated, it is safe to assume that it was protected or enclosed from the elements.¹⁸ From references to it in the Esagila Tablet,

¹⁵ **Babylon**, p. 189.

¹⁶ Published in **VAB 4** p. 130, col V, l 12f.

¹⁷ **Babylon**, p. 202.

¹⁸ See discussion in **WVDOG 59**, p. 61.

it apparently was a walled-in area¹⁹ which was accessed from six doors which are described as "entrances for the gods,"²⁰ who assemble themselves around the sides of the **ubšu-ukkin-na** for temple rituals."²¹

Regarding the location of the **ubšu-ukkin-na** in temples of the Ur III period, some personal correspondence with Thorkild Jacobsen proved very insightful, and disclosed his fresh insights into the etymology of the term:

I base my interpretation on the oldest occurrence is Gudea Cyl A viii 14 **ub-šu-kin-na-k** which I analyze as **ub šu.kin.a.ak** "the corner of the assembly". The corner is that of the temple forecourt. For **šu-kin** = **kamāsu** I see **MSL XIII** 119, 153 and of **gi-šu-kin** = **himmatu** **Hh. IX** 337, cf. **Civil JCS 28** p. 185 not. 5. As to its place in the standard temple plan I think it was the far

¹⁹ See **azamû ša ubšu-ukkin-na**, **CAD A₂**, p. 526; **CAD Z** s.v. **zamû**. **CAD** feels that **azamû** in some contexts is an architectural term and cannot be taken as **assammû** (a large drinking vessel) on the basis of texts like Unger **Babylon** p. 234 F l. 3: **BARAG-šú šá ina a-za-me-e [ša É]-hur-sag-ti-la ana IM.3 nadû** == "his [the god's] cella which is placed in the a. of Ehursagtila oriented to the east." The term should be viewed as a variant spelling of **zamû**, especially in light of **BM 40813:14**, a Babylonian topographic text which mentions a **za-mu-ú šá ub-šu-ukkin-[na]**. We note that **AHW** p. 75 lists this Unger text under **assammu** without offering a more contextually sensitive translation.

²⁰ Note Unger differs in not reading "gods" here (**Babylon**, p. 246).

²¹ "Seats" (**šubtu**) or pedestals for the gods were set up in some temple courtyards, cf. **KAV** 42 r. 23; (parallel in **OIP** 2 p. 145, l. 22-23): "The gate which is in front of Aššur, the royal gate, the gate through which one enters the courtyard, [called] the gate of the Enlil road, its courtyard is [called] 'Courtyard of the row of seats for the Igigi.'" Note also **Racc** p. 93 l. 18, where as a part of the **dik bīti** (lit. "the arousing of the temple") ritual the gods come in from the **ubšu-ukkin-na** to **ina kisalmahhi ana "Ani itarraš ina kisalli ina muhihi šubti uššabū-ma . . .** "to gather in the kisalmahhu before Anu (and) to sit on "seats" (pedestals) in the courtyard."

right-hand corner as one entered the court and that it is identical with the **gú-en-na** (on which see **OIP 98** p. 64) in location even though it may refer to a more widely based assembly. The later writing with **ukkin** I take to be a learned nicety, an erudite play.²²

An important feature of the court of Ki-ùr was the famous meeting place of the gods **Ubshu-kinna**. The name appears to mean "the corner of the gathering" as suggested by the writing **ub-šu-kin-na** in Gudea. The baffling later writing with **ukkin** "assembly" was apparently introduced for paronomastic reasons. The corner of the court involved was in all probability the northern upper-hand one, for the plan of the Ekur complex parallels in all essentials that of Egišnugal in Ur which was also built by Ur-Nammu, and in the corresponding spot on the Egišnugal plan Woolley found a collection of throne daises clearly meant as seats for the administrative assembly there, which gave the court its name **kisal gú-en-na**. The corner in Ki-ùr was not excavated; it may have similar seats.²³

The above mentioned reference **OIP 98**, p. 64 n. 62 provides some helpful archaeological background for the **gú-en-na**,²⁴ but does not link it explicitly with the **ubšu-ukkin-na**:

The notation [**g**]ú-en-na ... "The totality of êns" (i.e., productive managers) probably refers to the group of throne daises in the west corner of the **kisal-an-na**, so no **kisal** "court" should be restored before it. The courtyard around the ziqqurat was known as "the main court" **kisal-mah**.

²² September 16, 1990 letter from Thorkild Jacobsen, with humble postscript: "I may, of course, be wrong."

²³ December 10, 1990 letter from Thorkild Jacobsen, quoting his manuscript from the Philadelphia Rencontre. In the letter he notes that he is not sure when or if he will publish this work on the **ubšu-ukkin-na**.

²⁴ **guennakku** is rendered as "title of the governor of Nippur" in **CAD G** p. 120f. Levine and Hallo translate **kisal-gú-en-na** as "courtyard of the throne-room" in "Offerings to the Temple Gates at Ur," **HUCA 38** (1967), p. 55.

As Levine notes that the equivalence of **kisal-gú-en-na** with the **é-ḥur-sag** toponym is deduced by a process of elimination,²⁵ and Jacobsen's **ubšu-ukkin-na** to **kisal-gú-en-na** equivalence has a similar element of uncertainty associated with it,²⁶ we must remain hesitant of this association of names recovered from texts with actual temple courtyards. It is hoped that future archaeological studies and their associated textual finds will confirm this proposed relationship.

C. It is the place where lesser gods and kings go to praise and petition the chief gods.

Hymns in Honor of King Ibbisuen of Ur **Orientalia Suecana** 19-20 (1970-71) Sjöberg, p. 140f. Citing CBS 11168 (Lines 14-20 are summarized as "a prayer of Suen to his father Nunamnir-Enlil in Nippur" [p. 141]).

12) **ěš-nibru^{ki} šà-bi kur-ḥé-gál-la ki-tuš-ki-ùr-ra-ke,**

The shrine (of) Nippur, whose interior is a mountain of abundance, the place [dwelling] of the Kiru, <..?>

²⁵ Levine and Hallo, "Offerings to the Temple Gates at Ur," **HUCA** 38 (1967), p. 55.

²⁶ The ambiguity arises in that more courtyards or temple area other than the **ubšu-ukkin-na** were equipped with seats or daises for the gods: note **RAcc** p. 93 l. 18, where the gods come from the **ubšu-ukkin-na** to be seated in the **kisalmahḥu**. The mere presence of seats in a temple area does not in itself prove that this site was an **ubšu-ukkin-na**.

- 13) **nam-nun-na an-{ta} su-{lim}-ma-ni kalam-ma mu-un-
bàra-ge**

In greatness he spreads his majestic light from above
over the land,

- 14) **kisal-maḥ-e su-lim-{ma²} x-bi nu-til-e nam-gal
tar-re-dè**

In the lofty courtyard, (where) the ... of its majestic
light does not cease, a great destiny is determined.

- 15) **a-a-ugu-na u_x-ru-gal-an-ki en ^dnu-{nam}-nir-e**

To the father who begat him, the great ... of heaven
and earth, the lord Nunamnir,

- 16) **^dEN.ZU-e ub-šū-unken-na-ka ù-gul mu-na-gá-gá**

Suen in the *ubšū-ukkin-na* offers a prayer:

- 17) **ku₆-gál nun-bára-ga nun me-ti-la šà-ge-pà-da-zu**

"Canal inspector, prince on the dais, prince of the
life-giving *me*'s, for the one whom you have chosen
in your heart, ... (contents continue).

Šulgi P in *Šulgi Hymns* -- Trans. Am. Phil. Soc. 71/7 (1981)
p. 34f.

- 7) **u₄-ba nin-mu inim-an-na-ke₄ ba-gub**

On that day, my lady 'stepped up' to the word of An,

- 8) **^dnin-sún-na-ke₄(!) dam(?) -a-ni kù-^dlugal-bàn-da nam
ba-da-an-tar(!)-re(!)**

Ninsun made a fateful *decision* with her *spouse*,
Lugalbanda,

- 9) **sizkur-ra-na mu-da-an-{kúš}-ù**

She *heeded* his prayer,

- 10) **an-kù-ra ub-šū-kin-na-ka si mu-na-ni-in-sá**
 She went straight to holy An, in the Ubšū'ukkina:
- 11) **a-a-mu an lugal-dingir-re-ne-me-èn**
 "My father, An, you are the king of the gods!
- 12ff) (quotation continues regarding praise of Šulgi).

Beitrage zur Assyriologie 5 (1906) p. 595 K. 3258. rev.

(see corrected reading in **CAD N₁** s.v. **nādu** 2 p. 103).

- 6) [^dA]-nu ^dEN-LÍL ^dE-A ^dbe-lit ilāni-MEŠ u [^d]
 Anu, Enlil, Ea, the lady of the gods and ...
- 7) **ša ^dAšur ina ubšū-ukkin-na-ki itta'idū bēlūssu**
 who repeatedly praise the lordship of Aššur in the
ubšū-ukkin-na
- 8) **iq-bu-u ^dAšur-bani-apla šakkanak ^dAšur**
 say: "Ashurbanipal, Ashur's commander, ..." (blessings
 to Ashurbanipal follow).

Langdon, **NBK (VAB 4)** p. 126. (Nebuchadnezzar)

- 54) **du-kù²⁷ ašar šimāti / šá ub-šū-ukkin-na parak**
ši-ma-a-ti
 Du-ku, the place of destiny, in the Ubšū-ukkin-na, the
adytum of destiny,
- 56) **šá i-na zag-mu-ku re-eš šá-at-ti / ūmi 8^{kam} ūmi 11^{kam}**
 where during the New Year's festival, from the 8th to
 11th day

²⁷ Originally read as **azag**, cf. Zimmern **ZA 34** p. 192ff.

- 58) **ilu šar ilāni šamē eršetim bēlu ilu / i-ra-am-
mu-ú qe-re-eb-šú**

the king of the gods of heaven and earth, the lord god
dwells,

- 60) **ilāni šú-ut šamē iršitum / pa-al-ḫi-iš ú-ta-ak-ku-šú**
the gods, those of heaven and earth, respectfully pay
him homage

- 62) **ka-am-su iz-za-zu maḫ-ru-uš-šú / ši-ma-at u₄-um da-ír-
ú-tum**

kneeling,²⁸ they are positioned²⁹ before him; the
eternal destiny

- 64) **ši-ma-at ba-la-ṭi-ya / i-ši-im-mu i-na qe-er-bi**
the destiny of my life, they determine there.

Šulgi E J. Klein, U. Mus. manuscript on file. In a section
of curses on against a future king who should "erase his
[Šulgi's] songs" (l. 111):

- 116) **a-sa-ga nam-lugal-la-na na-a[n(?)] -x [x]**

Let him not [acquire(?)] a good progeny(?) for his
kingship!

- 117) **ki-lugal-gub-ki-da[ḍag]-g[a] nam-[b]í-gub-[bé]**

Let him not stand on the place, where the king stands
(in worship), the pure place!

²⁸ CAD K p. 119 s.v. *kamāsu* B.

²⁹ Literally "to stand," translating as "to position" to avoid the confusion inherent in kneeling and standing at the same time.

- 118) [u]b-šu-ukkin-na-ta bar-[šè](?) hé-[]
 Let him be ex[cluded(?)] from the Ubšukkinna!
- 119) [š]à-ge-guru,-a mu-pà(?)-da-ni(!)[]
 His(?) wishes and invocations(?),
- 120) [.....]

Gudea Cylinder A VIII.

- 13) **lugala**-<ni>-ir un-gá mu-na-zi mu-na-rá
 After he had (thus) censured the master,
 he went off to him, hymned him,
- 14) **ub-šu-kin-na-ka** mu-na-gub kin₄ šu mu-na-gál
 went in to him in Ubshu'ukkinna, saluted him (saying):
- 15) **lugal**-mu ^dnin-gír-su en a-huš-gi₄a
 "O my master Ningirsu, lord"

Source: Jacobsen, *The harps that once ... Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven: Yale, 1987) p. 398; Thureau-Dangin, *Les Cylindres de Goudéa* (TC 8, 1925), with reading by Sjöberg.

Enuma Eliš VI has an extensive section of praise to Marduk (declaring the fifty names) while he is seated as the head of the assembly in the **ubšu-ukkin-na** (see lines 140, 163, 166, cited below). Note also the prebattle celebrations in II 125-7 (also cited below).

D. It is the location where the Anunnaki gods assemble or are seated.

1) Assembly.

Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts I *Orientalia Suecana* 23-24
(1974-5) p. 163. UM 29-15-254 translated by Cooper, *An Or*
52 p. 116:

- 3') **an-ki-nigín-ba á-ág-gá-bi** []
Heaven and earth in their entirety their order
- 4') **lugal-la geštú-bad níg-nam x** []
... the king [...] wise (and) [knowing] everything
[...]
- 5') **inim-kù-du₁₁-ga ama a-a-ugu-b[i-gin_x igi-bi im-ši-gál]**
[They look at] the holy word [as to th]eir mother and
father,
- 6') **ªa-nun-na ub-šu-ukkin-na** []
The Anunna in the Ubšu'ukkina [....]
- 7') **ªen-líl ªnin-líl-ra su_s-su_s-u[b**]
come³⁰ to Enlil and Ninlil.
- 8') **é-kur èš-mah-šè igi-bi** []
[They lo]ok at Ekur, the lofty shrine,
- 9') **á-ág-gá-dugud ªen-líl ªnin-[líl**]
The important order [...] Enlil and Nin[lil ...]

³⁰ Dr. Sol Cohen prefers "step up" as the translation of the verb here.

Enuma Eliš: Heidel, **Babylonian Genesis**.³¹

II 125 Convene the assembly and proclaim my lot supreme.

II 126 When ye are joyfully seated together in the *ubšu-
ukkin-na*,

II 127 May I through the utterance of my mouth determine
the destinies, instead of you.

III 60-62 (parallel passage to the above).

VI 162 They took counsel together in the *ubšu-ukkin-na*,

VI 163 "Of the valiant son, our avenger

VI 164 (And) our provider, let us exalt his name!"

VI 165 So they sat down in their assembly to proclaim his
destinies,

VI 166 All of them mentioning his name(s) in the holy
place(?).

2) Seated. The term used here is *ki-tuš* or *šubtu*, which can mean "residence," "dwelling," or "seat." Since we know that the *ub-šu-ukkin-na* was a courtyard occupied by the divine assemblies only at certain times of the year, the nuance of "residence" or "dwelling" is not the best translation. Consequently, the sense of "seat" or "chair" (both physically and as a symbol of authority) seems better (compare **Enuma Eliš** II 126 above).³²

³¹ Transliteration of the Akkadian for the lines cited below is given in Chapter 2.

³² Discussions of the range of meanings and synonyms for *šubtu* are found in **ZA** 41 (1933) p. 292ff [Landsberger]; **ZA** 40 (1931) p. 10-13 [Schott]; and **AS** 22 (1972) p. 142 n. 4 [Wiseman].

The Return of Ninurta to Nippur **An Or 52** (1978) Jerrold Cooper. Akkadian/Sumerian bilingual, here addressing Ninurta:

- 86) ^da-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne en-šár-ra nam-mi-in-TAR
^da-nun-na-ki DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ a-di šá-a-ri i-tar-ru
 Do not paralyze(?) the entire Anunna, the great gods!
- 87) a-a-zu ki-tuš-a-ni nam-bí-in-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa-me-en
 a-{ba}-ka ina šub-ti-šú la tu-gal-lat
 Do not frighten your father in his seat!³³
- 88) ^den-líl-lá ki-tuš-a-ni nam-bí-in-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa-me-en
^dMIN ina šub-ti-šú la tu-gal-lat
 Do not frighten Enlil in his seat!³³
- 89) ^da-nun-na ki-tuš ub-šu-ukkin-na-ke₄ nam-mi-ni-íb-ur₄-
 ur₄-e-dè
^da-nun-na-ki ina šu-bat MIN la tu-ra-ar
 Do not panic the Anunna in their seats³³ at the
 Ubšu'ukkina!
- 90) a-a-zu á nam-ur-sag-gá-zu níg ḥa-ra-ba-ba-e
 a-ba-ka a-na i-di qar-ra-du-ti-ka qiš-ta li-qiš-ka
 Let, rather, your father give you gifts because of your
 valorous strength!

³³ Cooper translates as "residence." šubtu can refer to a dwelling, residence, or to a seat, pedestal, depending on the context (cf. AHW p. 1257f, s.v. šubtu).

- 91) ^den-líl-lá á nam-ur-sag-gá-zu níg ḥa-ra-ba-ba-e
^dMIN a-na i-di qar-{ra}-du-ti-ka qiš-ta li-qiš-ka
 Let Enlil give you gifts because of your valorous
 strength!

Note: Line 89 is absent in the OB text.

Nippur Lament (ms. Green at U. Mus.)

- 16) nibru-ki šà-ba me ḥal-ḥal-{a}
 O Nippur, in its inner city, that used to apportion the
 me's,
- 17) un sag-gi₆-ga numun-zi íb-i-i-a
 Where the black-headed people used to bring forth the
 good seed,
- 18) urú šà-bi umuš ba-ra-pà-da
 The inner city, where counsel was given,
- 19) ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne na ba-an-de₅-ge-eš-àm
 where the Anunnaki themselves gave instruction,
- 20) ub-šu-ukkin-na ki di-gal ku₅-ru
 In the ubšu-ukkin-na, the place that decides the law,
- 21) eš-bar-re si sá-e ba-ra-an-zu-uš-a
 where they, by their decisions, made known justice,
- 22) dingir-bé-ne ki-tuš-bi ba-mar-ra
 where the gods themselves had established their
 (governing) seats³⁴

³⁴ Green translates as "had founded their dwelling place."

23) **kurum₆ u₄-bi im-šub-ba bará-bi im-ri-a**

its provisions are forgotten, its offerings neglected
....

E. The purpose of this assembly is to hear the divine decrees.

Miscellaneous Sumerian Hymns **ZA 63** (1973) p. 20 Sjöberg, following Cooper's collation from **An Or 52**, p. 116 for lines 12'-14':

10') **⁴nuska(⁴PA.TÚG) nun na-RI-é-kur-ra za-e ši-bí-in-ga-me-en-nam**

Nuska, you are indeed the prince and the counselor of
the Ekur,

11') **an-ki-šú-a kur-{nigín}-na-ba dili-zu ì-mah-me-en**

in the entire extent of heaven and earth, in the whole
..., you alone are mighty,

12') **ub-šu-ukkin-na ki di gal ku₅-ru á-ág-gá gal-gal-la-šè**

in the Ubšu'ukkina, where great judgments are rendered,
for (hearing) the great commands

13') **⁴a-nun-na dingir ki a-na me-a gú ma-ra-si-si-dè-eš**

the Anuna, the gods of the earth, as many as there are,
gather before you,

14') **eš-bar du₁₁-ga u_x(GIŠGAL)-ru ⁴en-líl-lá za-e {si}**

mu-ne-ri-ib-{sá}-en

And you administer³⁵ over them the overwhelming³⁶

³⁵ **si...sá** = "to put in order, make straight, prepare"
(cf. Marie-Louise Thomsen, **The Sumerian Language: An Introduction to its History and Grammatical Structure**

decisions uttered by Enlil.

15') KA-kù an-gin, šu nu-te-gá-zu-šè igi-bi šu mu-e-ši-gál

They gaze at your holy mouth(?), unapproachable like
heaven,

16') [x]-mah ní-gùru ki-ús-a-bi nam-bi igi-bi ib-zu-zu-un

Their lofty [...], full of awe, firmly founded,
(there?) you make known their destiny.

It is very critical to note that this is not a peer meeting for a consensus or vote-gathering review, but more of a staff briefing or informative update.

Sulgi F J. Klein, U. Mus. manuscript on file.

30) u₄-ba an-né ki-en-gi-ra nam bí-in-tar^{ar} kalam-e gù

ba-{an}-dè

At that time, An determined the fate in Sumer, (and)
called to the land;

31) ^aaš-ím-babbar-re unken-né húl-{la ba}-ta-an-è

(Copenhagen, 1984: Akademisk Forlag), p. 270). CAD translates the Akkadian cognate verb **šutēšuru** (s.v. **ešēru**) as "to rule over," "to administer justice," "to give correct decisions." Note especially the citations: **Šurpu II 131 Šamaš bēl elāti u šaplāti ... muštēšir ilī šar mātāti attama** = you are Šamaš, the lord of the upper and nether worlds, who rules over [so CAD] (all) the gods, the king of (all) the lands. **AKA 27 i 1 (Tigl. I) ^aAššur bēlu rabū muštēšir kiššat ilī** = Aššur, the great lord, who administers justice over all the gods. **KAR 55:9 Šamaš dajān šamē u eršeti muštēširu Igigi** = Šamaš, the judge of heaven and earth, who administers justice over the Igigi. Cooper renders the verb here as *expound*, but in *Enki's Journey* 1. 119, he translates **si...sā** as "to administer justice."

³⁶ **u_x-ru** = "grandiose," "colossal," "stupendous." Cooper renders as "lofty."

Ašimbabbar brought out (the word) to the (divine?)³⁷

assembly in joy,

32) me-a ki-{gi}-LI ba-[]-UL -x[]

(Content of speech follows in broken context)

This text does not explicitly mention the **ubšu-ukkin-na**, but shows the same informative purpose for a divine assembly.

Enuma Eliš: Heidel, Babylonian Genesis.

III 129 They gathered together and departed,

III 130 All the great gods who determine [the destinies].

III 131 They entered into the presence of Anshar and filled [the **ubšu-ukkin-na**]

III 138 For Marduk, their avenger, they decreed the destiny.

Incantation to Utu, **Oriens Antiquus** 8 (1969), G. R.

Castellino (see U. Mus. manuscript). In a list of epithets:

9) ⁴utu giš-nu_x-gal kalam-šà-ta-è-a

Utu, beacon showing forth out of the inner land,

10) ⁴utu dingir-šár-ra gal-za dingir na-me nu-da-ad-g[i]

Utu, god of the universe, intelligent, (to whom) no god (can) give ad[vice],

³⁷ So translated by Klein. Given the parallelism with **kalam** in the previous line, it is possible that the human population of Sumer is in view rather than a formal divine assembly.

11) **ub-šu-kin-na-ke₄ sag-di-ku₅-bi-me-en**

In the *ubšu-ukkin-na* you are its first judge.

Afo Bei 9, Esarhaddon Inscriptions, episode 41, p. 28, l.

39-40:

ina Ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki / ki-sal puḫur ilāni^{meš} šu-bat ši-tul-ti ...

In the *Ubšu-ukkin-na*, the courtyard of the assembly of the gods, the place of conferring, (curse follows)

Labartu-text, ZA 16 (1902) p. 158, l. 17:

**Ub-šú-kin-na^{ki} šú-bat ši-tul-ti ilāni rabūti ša qí-rib
E-kur**

(Oath sworn by other gods, and finally by the) *Ubšu-ukkin-na*, the place of discussion of the great gods, in the midst of Ekur ...

Note the apparent tension: some passages show the lesser gods assembling passively to *hear* decrees, while others show them *administering* justice, or having a role in the *discussions* that "determine destiny." However, note that high praise to the head of the *ubšu-ukkin-na* lauds him as a leader who needs no advice. As a consequence we most likely have a royal court pictured here, where officials hear and may freely give advise, but they then administer in accordance with the decrees of the king. An administrative body that follows the wishes of its leader or king "who needs not advice" but may wish to explore possible options and graciously seek a consensus rather than rule by *fiat* is

hardly democratic!³⁸ In light of these texts, we should probably consider many of the **Enuma Eliš** council scenes to be illustrative of an **ubšu-ukkin-na** or other governing assembly in the rare case when it appoints a new leader. The more normative situation appears in **Enuma Eliš** once Marduk is seated as head of the assembly -- the Anunnaki simply follow his decrees and praise him for his wisdom.

F. Dining and refreshment were part of the assembly.

Enki's journey to Nippur (thesis, Al-Fouadi; 1969), lines 118-9 collated by Cooper, **An Or** 52 p. 116:

104) **en-ki-ke, èš-e-nibru^{ki}-àm**

Enki in the shrine Nippur

105) **a-a-ni en-líl-ra ninda mu-un-kú-e**

for Enlil, his father, made a banquet.

106) **an ki-mah-a im-ma-an-tuš**

He seated An on a lofty place,

107) **an-ra en-líl im-ma-ni-in-úš**

next to An he seated Enlil,

108) **nin-tu zà-gal-la im-mi-in-tuš**

Nintu he seated at the 'big side,'

³⁸ An example of *fiat* rule is seen in the Sumerian deluge myth lines 144-5 where "An, Enlil, Enki (and) Ninhursag / Adjured the gods of heaven (and) earth by An (and) Enlil." Kramer notes in **An St** 33 (1983) p. 119 fn. 25: "Presumably the four leading deities of the pantheon made the other gods of heaven and earth swear that they would abide by the cruel decision [to destroy mankind with a flood] whether they liked it or not."

- 109) ^da-nun-na ki-ús-ki-ús-bi im-mi-in-dúr-ru-ne-eš
the Anunna seated themselves.
- 110) lú-e-ne kaš ì-na_x-na_x-ne ^{kaš}kurún im-du₁₀-ge-ne
(Then) the (divine waiters) gave them beer to drink (as
well as) the fine beer which they have sweetened
- 111-115) (further description of banquet service)
- 116) ^den-líl nibru^{ki}-a húl-la mu-ni-ib-túm
In Nippur they made Enlil happy,
- 117) ^den-líl-e ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne gù mu-na-dé-e
(Then) Enlil speaks to the Anunnaki:
- 118) dingir gal-gal(-la) ì-su₈-ge-(en/ez-)za-na
"You great gods who have stepped up here,"³⁹
- 119) ^da-nun-na ub-šú-ukkin-na-ka/ke₄ si mu-un-sá-sá-e-en-
za-na
You Anunna who administer justice in Ubšú-ukkina.⁴⁰
- 120) dumu-mu é mu-un-dù lugal ^den-ki-ke₄
My son has built a house, the king Enki,

Nippur Lament (ms. Green at U. Mus.; see Sumerian in earlier citation).

- 16: O Nippur, in its inner city, that used to apportion
the Me's,
- 17: Where the blackheaded people used to bring forth
the good seed,

³⁹ Cooper renders this line as "you gods who are present." Note that in the context all of the gods are seated at banquet and are no longer standing.

⁴⁰ Al-Fouadi translates literally as "You Anunna who came straight to the ubšú-ukkin-na."

- 18: The inner city, where counsel was given,
 19: where the Anunnaki themselves gave instruction,
 20: In the *ubšu-ukkin-na*, the place that decides the
 law,
 21: where they, by their decisions, made known justice,
 22: where the gods themselves had established their
 (governing) seats⁴¹
- 23: Its provisions are forgotten, its offerings
 neglected
- 24: In the holy room of Royalty and the great dining
 hall of the feast,
- 25: For which the pouring out of wine and honey had
 been decreed!

Enuma Eliš: Heidel, Babylonian Genesis.

- III 129 They gathered together and departed,
 III 130 All the great gods who determine [the
 destinies].
- III 131 They entered into the presence of Anshar and
 filled [the *ubšu-ukkin-na*];
- III 132 They kissed one another [as they came
 together] in the assembly;
- III 133 They conversed (and) [sat down] to a banquet.
 III 134 They ate bread (and) prepared w[ine].
 III 135 The sweet wine dispelled their fears;

⁴¹ Green translates as "had founded their dwelling place."

III 136 [Their] bod[ies] swelled as they drank the
strong drink.

III 137 Exceedingly carefree were they, their spirit
was exalted,

III 138 For Marduk, their avenger, they decreed the
destiny.

G. Summary.

a) The **ubšu-ukkin-na** is located in an outer courtyard of a temple complex, and in later periods (at least) it was elaborately decorated.

b) This courtyard is apparently not the main central one (the **kisalmahhu**), but a smaller one located more closely to the outer perimeter wall and an outer gate of the temple.

c) The location is considered a holy place.

d) The gods assembled in the **ubšu-ukkin-na** on special days in order to praise the ruling gods and to "decree destinies."

e) The proceedings have few democratic features: while termed a "place of discussion" because opinions could be freely given, usually the lesser gods came passively to hear and then administer the decrees of the higher god(s).

f) Although this is an argument from silence, it is significant that no human group meets in the **ubšu-ukkin-na**.⁴² In general it appears that only the king or **ensi** of

⁴² At least as far as published texts accessible to the author are concerned. At the 35th Rencontre d'Assyriologie, July 14, 1988, held at the University of Pennsylvania

the city, like the lesser deities, may petition the ruling gods at this location on special occasions.

g) Subtle clues about the protocol of the **ubšu-ukkin-na** can be gleaned from the descriptions: The gods are seated, the presiding deity sits on a special throne, while the rare human visitor (the king) stands.⁴³

h) Banquets were a common feature of the divine assembly.⁴⁴

Museum, Philadelphia, PA, Stephen J. Lieberman gave a talk in which he distributed his reading of a fragment from a *Manual of Sumerian Legal Forms* (given in full under Sumerian Sources 1.2.4 with Sol Cohen's reading). Lieberman reads the text as "Išme-Dagan the king ordered the assembly of Nippur and its judges to gather in the ubšu-ukkin-na." I was able to obtain no further information about this text as of the date of this thesis. It was since published in the Rencontre proceedings **Nippur at the Centennial**, edited by Maria deJong Ellis (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 127ff.

⁴³ Cf. **Šulgi E** 1. 117. From Ugaritic texts, it appears that messengers arriving at an assembly stood to deliver their message as an act of defiance (Baal epic, p. 86, contrast p. 91, in **Stories from Ancient Canaan**, edited and translated by Michael D. Coogan). Presumably the king's posture does not imply malice.

⁴⁴ Lieberman concurs with this conclusion (p. 133). Although he reads a fragmentary line from MSL 11 (see 1.5.19) as "(the) assembly's eating-place" (p. 136 in *Nippur: City of Decision* in **Nippur at the Centennial**, ed. Maria deJong Ellis (1992)), this line provides no context to tell us if a divine or human assembly is eating.

Chapter 7.

Non-Administrative Temple Assemblies

Because of its status as the "house of the god," the temple, particularly its courtyards (**kisallu**),¹ were the scene of serious legal assemblies where it was necessary to establish the truth of a claim under an oath before the god.²

Secular cases were not the only issues handled in the temple courts and courtyards, as occasional examples attest. In **CT 6 7a:8, 35**, a Šamaš priest claims his portion of the inheritance of his father. The total goods are gathered in the courtyard of Šamaš, and there each brother(?) takes an equal share.³ In another case, the **šangu** and the **pašišu** priests assemble in the courtyard of Šamaš to witness a transaction involving the gift of a slave to the Šamaš temple.⁴ Of course, other texts mention the action of a legal assembly on the temple premises, without giving the

¹ Other texts refer to the **bāb** (gate), the **mušlāl** (gatehouse), or simply to the **bīt** (temple) as places where judgments are rendered.

² Note especially **YOS 12 212:14**, where witnesses establish a debt "in the court of Ištar." Other examples of oath-taking in a more general temple context are: **BE 6/1 26:7**; **CT 4 1:21f**; **Rifton 46:24** (see **ZA 43 315**). The verb often associated with these cases is **burru** (**CAD B s.v. barû**, p. 128) "to establish under oath."

³ Text 297 in Moses Schorr, **Urkunden des Altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts** (1913).

⁴ Boyer **Contribution** p. 25, no. 107:11.

specific location.⁵ In certain political situations it also appears that the temple personnel would assemble to confer and offer advice to their leaders.⁶

An interesting OB tablet (TCL 11 245:5) documents a trial regarding the theft of garments from a god: "Concerning the heavy cloak and headdress with which DN was clothed, but of which she was stripped, the **pašišu**-priests, city governor (**rabiānu**), and elders assembled in the courtyard (**kisallu**) of 'NIN.MAR.KI.'" ⁷ It is noteworthy that this temple robbery was serious enough to involve the royally-appointed governor⁸ as well as the city elders.

Unless they were involved in a trial as a witness or judge, we have little evidence that the temple courts were accessible to the "man on the street." Late ritual texts do not convey the idea that throngs of enthusiastic worshippers surged through the temple courts; instead it appears that the gods went out to the people during festival processions.

⁵ NBk 104.6.0 refers to an "assembly of the elders (**šibūtu**) of Šamaš" who serve as witnesses in a legal dispute.

⁶ Adele Berlin, **Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna: A Sumerian Narrative Poem** (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1979), lines 117ff. Here Ensuhkešdanna, who is apparently an **en** priest, calls together the temple personnel to ask for advice in responding to Enmerkar's challenge. This meeting is located in the **giparu**, the residence of the **en** priest.

⁷ The thief was convicted. For translation of difficult phrases see CAD s.v. **hamāšu**, **bāru** A 3a, p. 128.

⁸ For a recent discussion of this position (with notes), see Hanoch Reviv, **The Elders in Ancient Israel: A Study of a Biblical Institution** (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), p. 156.

Like the king's palace, the house of the god was a private place where one entered by invitation only.⁹ A noteworthy exception to this appears to be the "open house" which Esarhaddon held in the Ešarra temple of Aššur after he refurbished it: "For 3 days I celebrated a feast with my officials and the people of my country in the courtyard of Ešarra."¹⁰

Few texts come down to us which illustrate how the common man¹¹ relates to the city temple. One of these, "A Man and his God"¹² survives in only fragmentary form. Our discussion follows the manuscript of J. Klein in the University of Pennsylvania Museum files, with notes and comments by A. Sjöberg:

113) dingir-mu x x nam-tag-mu igi-mu ù-mi-zu

My god, x x you have let me recognize my sins,

114) ká-unḫin-ka ḥa-lam-ma-bi dil-bad-bi ga-àm-du₁₁

I shall recount in the gate of the assembly(?) those of them that have been forgotten, and those of them which are visible(?).

⁹ A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, revised edition, p. 183ff.

¹⁰ Borger, *Esarhaddon Inscriptions (AfO Bei 9)*, p. 6 vii 26.

¹¹ In fact, the western notion of "everyman" may be a *non sequitur* in Mesopotamian society. If the culture is highly stratified and even the middle class is fractured into guilds, the societal picture may be more like the caste system of India. If the major temples both represent and protect the king and the state, there would be little inclination to open the temple doors to crowds of peasants.

¹² Published by Kramer in *ANET*, p. 589f. Primary sources are *STVC* 1, 2. *Supplement to VT* 3 (1960) pp. 172-82. *Bi. Or.* 17 pp. 149ff.

115) **guruš-me-en ka-tar nam-tag-mu igi-zu-šè ga-si-il**

I, the young man, shall publicly declare my sins before you!

116) **unkin-e ú-ku IM.DUGUD-gim hu-mu-ub-šèg-šèg-e**

In the assembly, let tears(!?) flow, like a heavy downpour (of rain)! Sjöberg card note: "Text F has **SA, ALAN** instead of **ú²-KU** (in text G)".

117) **é-zu ama-šà-ne-ša₄-mu ír-mu h́é-šiš₄-x []**

In(!) your house, let my praying mother continuously weep(?) for me!

While there is much that is obscure in this text due to its damaged condition, it appears that the young man (who is suffering under the hand of his god) goes to declare his sins publicly in some assembly associated with the temple of the god.

A sacred marriage hymn for Iddin-Dagan (around 1960 B.C.) gives another glimpse of possible "common man" involvement in divine ritual and worship. The ninth **kirugu** reads:¹³

167) **é-gal é-na-ri-kalam-ma-ka ^{giš}rab-kur-kur-ra-kam**

In the palace, "the house of counsel for the land,"
"the shackle of all the foreign lands,"

168) **é-^di,-lú-ru-gú sag-gi₆-ga ukù gú-điri (var. šub) -ba**

When the black-headed people, the people, have
assembled¹⁴ in "the house of the river of ordeal,"

¹³ Following Daniel Reisman's work in **JCS 25** (1973), p. 185ff and in his Ph.D. thesis, U. Penn (1969).

¹⁴ Sol Cohen notes that the verb **gú-điri** is **nalû** or **nap̄haru**. The variant **gú-šub-ba** = **aḥu nadû** "to cast the hands down, to stop working, restraint of work." He sees no reference to **puḥrum** here, and he renders the line: "On the house of the river ordeal, the black-headed people, the

169) ^dnin-é-gal-la-ra bára mu-na-an-ri

They set up a throne for the lady of the palace.

170) lugal dingir-àm šà-bi-a mu-un-da-an-ti

The king, the god, sits with her, inside

[They set up a bed for Inanna and the king for the sacred marriage, which takes place on New Year's day. Afterwards]

196) é-gal-mah-a-ni-a im-ma-da-an-ku₄-ku₄

He (the king) orders them (the people) to enter her
Egalmah

201) hé-gál giri_x-zal-e man-hé-a igi-ni-šè si im-sá

He arranges abundance, lushness, and plenty before her.

202) šubun-nì-du₁₀-ga mu-un-na-an-ni-gál

He places a pleasant meal before her.

203) sag-gi₆-ga igi-ni-šè si im-sá

He arranges the black-headed people before her.

204) giš-gù-di ulù-ta eme-gar-ra

The loud instrument, which drowns out the south storm,

205) ^{giš}al-gar gù-du₁₀-ga é-gal me-te-bi

The *algar* instrument of sweet sound, the ornament of
the palace,

206) ^{giš}zà-mí ki-HUR-ša₆-ge-nam-lú-ulù-ke₄

The stringed instrument, the source of the joy of
mankind,

207) nar-re šir-šà-húl-la-ka-ni mu-ni-in-pà-pà-dè

(With these) the musicians play her a song which
rejoices her heart

210) é-gal ezem-ma-àm lugal húl-la-àm

The palace is festive, the king is joyous,

people in their entirety set up a throne-chamber to the
"Lady of the Palace."

211) ukù-e nam-ḥé-a u, i-zal-e-dè

The people spend the day in plenty

The sacred marriage appears to involve drama and festivities in both the royal palace and the Inanna temple, and from our text it is difficult to establish where the varied activities take place. Following the marriage ceremony, it appears that the king gathers the common people before Inanna and himself inside the temple Egalmah for a great banquet, in which the people also participate (cf. line 211, "spend the day in plenty"). However, the preparations before the marriage ceremony, in which the common people also have a role, appear to take place in the royal palace (cf. lines 167-169).

As noted above, the lack of textual references leads us to deduce that the house of the god, like a king's palace, was a private place where one entered by invitation only. Solely during special festivals or celebrations could the "common man" dare to encroach on the sacred area.

Turning from textual to archaeological evidence, some helpful insights into the relationship between overall temple structure and its courtyards is offered by Henri Frankfort in the concluding chapter of **OIP 58**:¹⁵

These [early] courts themselves are generally very irregular in shape. A glance through the successive plans of the Sin and Abu temples from their foundation in the Proto-literate period

¹⁵ Penhas Delougaz and Seton Lloyd, **Pre-Sargonic Temples in the Diyala Region (OIP 58 1942)**.

shows clearly that these courts were originally adjacent open spaces where certain work connected with the temple took place and where priests and people congregated. These open spaces were subsequently incorporated in the temple complex, which retained the curiously polygonal shape determined by the limits of neighboring plots or buildings. [p. 304]

But the court is not, as Koldewey suggested, the remnant of an increasingly built-up inclosed area. We can notice in the successive stages of the Sin Temple how the court, far from being a central feature, is only at length incorporated in the temple complex. In the early temples at Tepe Gawra and Warka it does not occur. [p. 311 n. 23]

Frankfort's observation that the earliest courtyards were open areas adjacent to the temple and not secluded, hallowed sections within the temple itself reminds us that we need to be cautious before deducing that an assembly of citizens convened in a temple courtyard implies that the public had access to the actual temple. Due to space constraints some temple courtyards may have served as public areas where both temple and secular business was conducted.

Moreover, the haphazard topography of temple courtyards and their incidental nature in early temple architecture implies that courtyard activities (such as the early hypothetical congregational worship alluded to above), did not play a central role in the early cult. If it had, the architectural feature associated with this activity would have been standardized and stereotyped in temple structure, as were altars, niches, and cella shape and entrances.

Chapter 8.

Conclusions.

I. Divine assemblies. Because divine assemblies are commonly associated with temple precincts, we reviewed the primary source material for hints about its place of meeting, protocol, and how humans related to it. We observed that the most common assembly meeting place was the **ubšu-ukkin-na**, a decorated courtyard with seats for the gods into which only the highest civic leader could enter to make petitions. Protocol was more difficult to establish, especially the suggestion that they were democratic. In the epics we see strong leadership exhibited (from An, Enlil or Marduk), with decisions being affirmed by oath after a consensus is reached or a leader issues a decree. To distinguish a democratic from a royal-court protocol would require the attestation of a very controversial situation in which the gods were split 60-40 on an issue but the majority position was then adopted by all. The existing texts illustrate the situation where only one god opposes the actions of the body (Enki in Atra-Hasis; Inanna in Lam. Ur). Without a clear example of majority rule, I suggest that Mullen's view, that Canaanite and Early Hebrew divine assemblies picture a royal court rather than a primitive democracy,¹ be extended to the Mesopotamian assembly as well. Edzard summarizes the situation well:

¹ Mullen, **Assembly**, p. 282-3.

In the past two decades the question has arisen, with regard to the Sumerian city-state of Early Dynastic times, to what degree the people participated in its government. The point of departure for the whole discussion was the occurrence of terms for "assembly" and for "elders," principally in a passage of the Sumerian poem *Gilgamesh and Aka of Kish*. Messengers from the king of Kish appear in Uruk, and Gilgamesh, the *en*, submits the alternatives of war or dishonorable subjection, first to an "assembly of the elders" and second to an "assembly of the young men (*gurush*).² The old urge surrender, the young are eager for the fight. Attempts have been made to see in this a kind of plebiscite. But it is probably a literary convention for displaying the *hubris* of a king. That such assemblies did exist is something that we should not doubt; that they were a prototype of popular democracy, however, is something that we must not imagine. If the gods meet in mythological assembly, this is surely an earthly institution translated, by the religious imagination, to the realm of heaven. But what is the procedure in the assembly of the gods? It is customary, it appears, to acclaim the proposals of the presiding deity (who, of course, will have tried to give expression to the opinion of the majority) with a resounding shout of "So be it!" If this, too, reflects the ways of men, then the Sumerian assembly is a sounding board for public opinion. The purpose of the assembly would have been, above all, to air questions of organization and justice and to receive the directions of the ruler.²

Further, we noted that the divine assembly motif does not appear in the earliest attestations of several significant texts of differing genres, which seriously weakens the motif's conjectured ability to reflect accurately *prehistorical* human assembly protocols.

² Dietz Otto Edzard, *The Early Dynastic Period, in The Near East: The Early Civilizations*, Jean Bottéro, Elena Cassin, and Jean Vercoutter, editors (New York: Delacorte Press, 1967) pp. 79-80.

II. Human temple assemblies. The majority of surviving references to human groups meeting on the temple precinct involve legal disputes (oath-taking and cases involving temple material or personnel) and administrative functions (the **kiništu** governing board).

III. Worship and cult activities. From the lack of evidence, it appears that the public had very limited access to the temple and involvement in its ceremonies: The surviving cases attested to us are Iddin-Dagan's sacred marriage rites, where the general public³ join in the celebration; and Esarhaddon's open house to display his majesty and care for the gods. *A Man and his God*, in which a penitent declares his sins and mourns in "the gate of the [assembly?]," gives evidence to a personal dimension of devotion but does not provide enough details about the scheduling and location of the possible gathering and whether a major city-temple or small shrine is involved.

IV. Other observations. As the bulk of this research consisted of contextual word-studies, several valuable miscellaneous points were deduced during this study:

A) The reading of **puḫrum** as "law court" is suspect in what has been considered to be a classic proof text illustrating that legal assemblies were open to the public.

³ "black-headed people" is a poetic expression for mankind as a whole, cf. CAD and AHw s.v. **salmāt qaqqadi**.

Context and unruly connotations for **puḫrum** elsewhere imply that this passage in *Counsels of Wisdom* is better read as a crowd gathered around a street fight; hence the warning does not apply to any formal judicial assembly.

B) The definition of **kiništu** offered in the **Chicago Assyrian Dictionary** was clarified and corrected -- among the range of meanings for the term that can be deduced from context, a "class of priests of a low status (concerned with the preparation of food offerings)" does not appear to fit.

C) After accounting for cultural conditions in Mesopotamia in the late Persian periods, we concluded that a series of texts which Weinfeld proposed to illustrate a connection between the **kiništu** and **keneset**/synagogue traditions does not have a direct bearing on the issue.

D) In an appendix to this study, we propose that the **Eginaptu** = **šutummu** (*holy place* = *storehouse*) enigma be resolved by translating **šutummu/Eginaptu** as *repository* or *treasury*.

E) In several Sumerian texts the term **kalam** (*land*) occurs in parallel with **unken** (*assembly*) where it is clear that **unken** is being used as a generic term for *mankind* (i.e., *gathered people*) but where no formal gathering can be inferred from the context.

As in any scholarly investigation, the data available on a given issue do not allow one to answer the full range of questions that can be addressed to it. If we find that,

instead of yielding a clear answer, the data only permit us to limit our options, with this we should rest content. It is better research to be circumspect than to read a preference into fragmentary data.

Appendix A
The **ramkūtu**.

Since two important texts (**YOS 1 45**; **CT 36 9**) use the term **ramkūtu** in parallel with **kiništu** (**YOS 1 45** uses these terms to mark the beginning and end of a list of personnel; **CT 36 9** uses **kiništu** as an explanatory or parallel term for **ramkūtu**), a brief study of the range of occurrences of this word may prove helpful in elucidating the meaning of **kiništu**.

Ramkūtu can be analyzed as either the masculine plural¹ or the feminine abstract² of the substantive adjective **ramku**, which is derived from the verb **ramāku**, "to wash oneself, to bathe." The idea of a "washed one" (stative) or "washer" (active) makes obvious sense in a temple context where all priests, personnel and worshippers need to be both physically and morally clean before they can stand in the presence of the god. The issue which needs to be resolved is whether the term **ramku** refers to a specific type or class of priest, or if it is a more generic term for temple personnel, like **ērib bīti**.

1) Texts which infer that **ramku** is a specific class of priests.

Borger, **Esarhaddon Inscriptions** Episode 33, p. 24:

20) **ra-am-ki pa-ši-ši** (21) **AN.GUB.BA.MEŠ maḥ-ru-te**

¹ Reimschneider, section 3.1.

² *ibid.*, section 4.9.

- 22) na-ṣir pi-riš-te (23) ma-ḥar-šú-nu uš-ziz
 24) ¹⁶i-šip-pi ¹⁶āšipī (25) ¹⁶kalê ¹⁶nārē
 26) šá gi-mir um-ma-nu-tú (27) ḥa-am-mu uš-ziz
 28) ma-ḥar-šu-un

"I placed at their (Marduk's and Šarpānītu's) service the former **ramkī**, **pašīšī**, **angubbū** (ecstatics) priests, those initiated in secret rites. I assigned to them purification priests, exorcists, lamentation-priests and temple singers who are versed in every aspect of (their) art."

This tablet appears to list two broad categories of priests, one specialized in secret rituals and the other involved in functions that were presumably less mysterious (at least in that era). As **ramku** occurs in the list, it appears to refer to a class of priest, like the other terms are classes of priests.

Šurpu V 175 (AfO Bei 11); JNES 19, 33, 52; 15, 138, 111. These incantation formulae all use the phraseology **ra-am-ku kù šá** ⁴É-a DUMU šip-ri šá ⁴Asal-lú-ḥi a-na-ku -- "I am the pure **ramku** of Ea, the messenger of Marduk."

Iraq 31 p. 87 (Marduk prayer BMS 11)

46: ram-ku šá qātā^{II}-šú eb-b[a ...]

The **ramku** whose hands are pure

Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi lines 23-28. (BWL p. 49, cf. 345 note).

21 A second time [I saw a dream,]

- 22 And in [my night dream which] I [saw]
 23 A remarkable **ramku** []
 24 Holding in his hand a tamarisk rod of purification
 --
 25 "Laluralimma, resident of Nippur,
 26 Has sent me to cleanse you."
 27 The water he was carrying he threw over me,
 28 Pronounced the life-giving incantation, and rubbed
 [my body]

This passage gives some details of a rite performed by
 a **ramku**.

Utukki Limnūti tablet III from R.C. Thompson, **Devils and
 Evil Spirits of Babylonian I** (London, 1903). p. 15
 (bilingual)

- 129 I am the šangammāhu of Ea,
 130 **NAG-DUP ra-am-ku ša** ^{al}Eridi **a-na-ku**
 I am the **ramku** of Eridu ... (rest of text broken)

Sargon II cylinder (H. Winckler, *Der Keilschrifttexte
 Sargons I*, pl. 36, no. 76:158 [page 128]) See **CAD s.v.
 nindanu 2**.

- 157b ¹⁴zikarī ilāni ¹⁴ram-ki ¹⁴šur-maḥ-ḫi
 The servants of the gods, priests and
 dignitaries,
 158 those well-versed in their knowledge, initiated
 in the secret rites ...

In all of the above contexts, **ramku** or the plural form **ramkū** (accusative **ramkī**) appear to refer to a specialized priest who carries out purification rites.

2) Texts in which **ramkūtum** refers to the priestly class.

Occurrences of the adjective plural (or feminine abstract) form **ramkūtu** are comparatively rare:

UET I 187 (Nabonidus brick) p. 57.

6) **ra-am-ku-ut e-giš-šir-gal** 7) **ki-di-nu-ut-su-nu ak-šur-ma**

The priests of Egiširgal, I confirmed their immunity

8) **šu-ba-ra-šu-un aš-ku-un**

and appointed their sustenance.

In this context it appears that Nabonidus has chosen one term to designate all of the priesthood of the temple, whom he calls "the washed ones."

OECT I (W-B 5, Nabonidus cylinder)

I 51) **ra-am-ku-tim É-bàr-ra i-ta-mu-nim**

The (**ramku**)-priests of Ebarra spoke:

52) "The temple has fallen into ruins."

(Nabonidus does not believe them but sends a delegation of wise men to investigate the temple independently -- he is fearful of the gods' wrath because he needs to desecrate the temple in order to rebuild it).

Again in this context it is doubtful that only one class of priests of the Ebarra temple is in view; more probably a delegation of priests was sent to the king, which

would have included a variety of specialists.

Summary:

From the few examples which we have available, it appears that **ramku** and **ramkūtu** designate two different groups of people: The **ramku** are a specialized class of purification-priest, while **ramkūtu** is a generalized term referring to temple priests or personnel as a whole. This distinction is maintained by the use of the plural **ramkū** when referring to a group of the specialized priests.

It is not uncommon for nouns to have different shades of meaning in their variant plural forms: Reimschneider notes that the noun **šibu** "old," "venerable" forms a substantive plural **šibū** "witnesses", and a plural adjective **šibūtu** "elders" which are not equivalent.³

While the **-ūtu** abstract form is often used with priestly class nouns to designate the craft or prebend of that class (cf. **išippu**, **išippūtu**; **āšipu**, **āšipūtu**, etc.), in this case it functions to form an abstracted class-noun designating the entire range of "washed" temple personnel. With the case of **ramkūtu**, the context clearly differentiates whether personnel or the craft is in view.⁴

³ section 3.1.

⁴ The occurrences of **ramkūtu** as a craft cited by AHW are in an isolated context (the god list **An** = ^d**a-nu-um**, CT 24 41 l. 64 and CT 25 11 l. 29: **Tišpak** = **Ninurta** = **ša ra-am-ku-ti**), where either meaning could be justified.

Appendix B

The Sumerian É (or bit) **gi-na-ab-tum**

Following the exegetical rule that "context is more important than any single word," we will attempt to deduce the meaning of the term from its occurrences in passages where it is used in parallelism with a better known phrase.

Royal inscriptions that deal with enhancements made to temples occasionally refer to this structure: **UET I 139**, listed as Rîmsîn inscription 11 in **Studia Orientalia 49** (1980), p. 155-6 reads as part of a series of epithets to Rîmsîn:

- 26) **é-gi-na-ab-tum-/-du,(')-kù-^dnanna**
the pure **é-gi-na-ab-tum** of Nanna,
27) **ki-tuš-ní-dúb-bu-/-dúbu(=DÚB)-da-ni**
her dwelling-place where she may rest,
28) **nam-ti-la-ni-šè**
for his life
29) **mu-na-dù**
he built.

Note the adjective **kù** ("pure", "sacred", "holy"), but especially the explanatory clause "her dwelling place where she may rest." The structure is clearly a divine sanctuary.

Temple Hymn 4 in **TCS 3**, p. 19 is directed to "the house of Nuska in Nibiru" (l. 60), and begins:

- 48) **é me-lám-kuš ní-gal gùr-ru**
House with awe-inspiring radiance, laden with splendor,

49) èš-mah me-nun an-ta bar-ra

Lofty shrine (to which) the princely me's have been
sent forth from heaven,

50) é-gi-na-an-du, ^den-líl-lá me-ul-e gar-ra nir-ra
túm-ma

é-gi-na-ab-tum of Enlil, founded for the primeval me's,
worthy of ...,

51) nam-nun-na sag-íli na-di₅-é-kur-ra

Lifting its 'head' in princship, counsellor of the
Ekur ...

Here the structure is equated with a "lofty shrine" and a
"radiant house" and is involved with the divine me (the
"fates" or ordinances decreed by the gods).

Temple Hymn 40 (ibid., p. 47) addresses the house of
Inanna in Ulmaš as follows:

512) é-^dinanna kù ^{na4}za-gìn-na é¹-gi-na-ab-du, guškin dù-a

House of Inanna, of silver and lapis lazuli, é-gi-na-
ab-du, built of gold,

513) nun-zu u₄-rá-bu^{nušen} nu-u₈-gig-nigìn-gar-ra

Your princess (is) an urabu-bird, the nugig of the
nigingar.

In this hymn we find the temple (house) of Inanna used in
parallel with our term, and further it is lavishly

¹ Sjöberg notes a variant text which has [u₆]-nir in
place of é. This is equivalent to substituting ziqqurratu
for bīt, which is an interesting mistake, to say the least.

ornamented. A variant occurrence of "temple tower" (**u₆-nir**) for "temple/house" (**é**) also implies that no ordinary "storehouse" is in view in this context.

Yet another text which shows this striking parallelism is U. Penn Museum tablet N 4119, published by Sjöberg as "A Hymn to the Goddess Sadarnuna" in *JAOS* 93 (1973) pp. 352ff:

4) **nir-gal kar-maḥ é-en-ul énin-ul-e èš-maḥ-a túm-ma**

The respected (goddess), the great quay, Enul and Ninul
have made her suitable for the lofty shrine,

5) **munus-zi-dè kisal-é-en-líl-lá-ka bára-maḥ-a-na mu-un-ri**

The true woman sits on her lofty dais in the courtyard
of Enlil,

6) **é-gi-na-ab-du,-kù èš-maḥ ki x x gub-bu-na/ní-huš**
gùr-ru-àm

When she stands in the pure **é-gi-na-ab-du**, the lofty
shrine, the place, she is full of awe,

It is also interesting to see that the **é-gi-na-ab-du**, was a popular item for kings to build (or refurbish), and then call attention to this in their year formulae. Moreover, many gods had one. Note the following references:

Sumerian Letters (Thesis, 1964: Fadhil Ali).

32: Ishbi-erra, who looks after (?) the Ekur,

33: built the Eginabdu of Enlil.

Sîn-māgir 2 (clay nail), from *Studia Orientalia* 49.

Sîn-māgir built for éAgtuppītum his beloved Eginabdu.

Gungunum 2 (clay nail, Ur), *ibid.*

Gungunum built for Dagan the Eešmedagal and his Eginabdu.

Gungunum 3 (clay nail, Ur), *ibid.*

Gungunum built for Utu his é-~~hi~~-li and his pure Eginabdu.

Gungunum 25 (clay nail of Enannatum, Ur), *VAB I* p. 206-7; cf. *UET I* 232.

Gungunum built for Nannar a sacred é-gi-na-ab-tum.²

Sumuel 1 (clay nail, Ur), *Studia Orientalia* 49 and *UET I* 114.

Sumuel built for Inanna the pure Eginabdu, her beloved house (é-ki-ág-a-ni), in Ur.

Ibbi-Sin year 18: (U. Penn tablet, isolated context), *UET I* 197.

mu 'i-bí-'suen lugal-urí^{ki}-ma-ke, 'nin-líl ù 'inanna
é-gi-na-ab-tum kù mu-ne-dù.

Year that Ibbi-Sîn, king of Ur, built the pure Eginabdu's of Ninlil and Inanna.

UET I 265, l. 22: Year when the é-gi-na-ab-tum was built in Ur.

Apparently the constructing of an Eginabdu for a god was considered to be a significant event in a king's reign. Once again we see the epithets "beloved" and "pure" applied

² Matouš (*Ar Or* 20 [1952] p. 304) comments that Woolley found this building during his excavations at Ur, located on the northwest side of the Nannar courtyard. Woolley's own summary in *Ur Excavations* 5. *The Ziggurat and its Surroundings*, p. 86f [cited by Matouš] is not as explicit.

to the structure.

Summary.

The **é-gi-na-ab-du**, occurs in temple hymns as a synonym for **èš-mah** (shrine), with the epithets "beloved" or "pure". It is ornamented in gold and considered to be a "place of rest" for the god. Many gods had them, and it was an important event when a king built or refurbished one. On the basis of these texts it appears that this structure was an important component of a temple complex, perhaps even the cella in which the god's statue was placed.

Problems.

Complicating our analysis of **É.GI.NA.AB.DU**, is the fact that it is a synonym of the Akkadian term **šutummu**, which is often translated as "granary, storehouse."³ This equivalence is demonstrated in lexical text **UMBS V 106 rev. IV 21** (Diri V 288):

[šu]-tu-um = **É.GI.NA.AB.DU**, = šu-tu-um-mu

³ It is worth noting at this point how the root **knp** appears in other cognate languages. While not found in Akkadian (other than in the derived noun **kappu** = "wing"), the root is attested in Aramaic and Arabic (**BDB** p. 489). The Aramaic root **knp** means "to press, crowd; to gather" s.v. Marcus Jastrow, **A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the midrashic literature** (New York: Choneb, 1926) vol. I p. 651. The Arabic root **knf** means "to guard, fence in" s.v. Hans Wehr, **A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic** (Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, 1976), third edition edited by J. Milton Cowan. The Arabic cognate appears to follow the sense of a protected depository; the Aramaic preserves the more generic idea of gathering.

Note also CT 46 pl. 48 no. 51 obv. I 28' where the reading É.GI₆. NA.AB.DU, has the gloss šu-tu-um.

Moreover, the term šutummu is used in temple contexts where we would expect to find É gi-na-ab-tum used:

- 1) JCS 21 (1967), p. 260 l. 28. The great prayer to Ištar.
a-ḥu-lap-ki be-let É-an-na qud-du-šú šu-tù-mu el-lu
Have mercy, Lady of holy Eanna, the pure warehouse,
- 2) Gilgamesh I i 10: É-an-na šu-tum-mu el-lu
of hallowed Eanna, the pure sanctuary (so ANET p. 73).
- 3) Thureau-Dangin, Rituel Acc. 92 a 11:
(list of gods) ina šú-tum-mu ša kisalli An-tum
ušša-ab
(the gods) are seated in the sanctuary of the courtyard
of Antum
- 4) CT 21 pl. 6 (90826), a gate-socket inscription published
in VAB I p. 188 l, commemorates the fact that Ur-Nammu
built an é-šu-tum ki-ág-gà-ni for Ninlil (line 7).

In secular contexts we find the šutummu being used to store grain, dates, copper, and tribute/booty. Kings, ships, and city gates have (é) šutummu.⁴ As a result, we need to

⁴ For occurrences of É-šu-tum as "granary" in Ur III texts, (often in connection with the sā-du₁₁ offering) note BIN 5, 48 rev. 7 and 152:3; Contenau Contribution no. 47:2-3; RA 8 p. 156, AO 5648:2ff; Orientalia 47-49 no. 161 rev. and no. 171:2; TCL 5 18-19 vi 25, 28, 32; MVN 10 173 rev. 5; T. Jacobsen C T Copenhagen 24 obv. 2; M. Sigrist Textes économiques néo-sumériens de l'université de Syracuse (1983), 368:8, 379:5, 479:2. For additional references from other periods, see AHW s.v. šutummu.

consider in what sense the temple of a god (or at least some portion of it where the god resides on occasion) can be considered to be a "storehouse."

In this issue we need to step back from our modern conceptions of a temple or house of worship and view how temples functioned in other, better-attested ancient cultures:

Among the Greeks, as among most Pagan races, the temple was not a building in which a congregation met and worshipped, but was rather regarded as the house and treasury of the god.⁵

In some temples . . . a special chamber, the *opisthodomus*, was cut off from the rest of the cella as a store-place for the rich treasures in gold and silver which belonged to the temple or had been deposited there as if in a bank. . . . In late times some of the most venerated temples . . . grew so rich in cups, tripods, statuettes, and other votive offerings made of gold and silver, that there was not sufficient room to hold them in the temple itself, and so a number of separate little treasure-houses were built within the sacred precincts.⁶

As was the case in Greek temples, vast stores of treasure were frequently preserved in the temples of the Romans. . . . It was also not uncommon for wealthy Romans to deposit their own plate or money for safe keeping in the treasury of some temple. These Roman treasuries were usually formed under the temple floor in some part of the lofty *podium* on which most Roman temples were built.⁷

The idea of a temple acting as a treasury or bank is foreign to most modern cultures as these functions have been assumed

⁵ **A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities** (1914), edited by William Smith, William Wayte, and G. E. Marindin, s.v. *Templum*, vol. II p. 773-774.

⁶ Smith, **Dictionary**, s.v. *Templum*, vol. II p. 779.

⁷ Smtih, **Dictionary**, s.v. *Templum*, vol. II p. 789.

by the government and/or private sectors. However, the temple in antiquity was considered to be a far better place of safe keeping, as it was under the special protection of the god.⁸ Equipped with this cultural insight and parallel example, it is reasonable to propose that a Babylonian temple also functioned as a treasury or repository for at least the assets of the god, if not also for those of the community. Translating *šutummu* as *treasury* or *repository* rather than *granary* or *warehouse* better fits the contextual references to *šutummu* as being "laden with splendor," a "holy dwelling of rest," elaborately decorated, and as being something kings would take pride in building (for it could also store and protect the palace treasures).

⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1972 ed.), s.v. *Banking*, by Edward Victor Morgan and Frank Leroy Kidner.

Appendix C

bīt papāḫi texts.

1. Gateways of the shrines at Sippar (**PSBA 33** [1911] p. 155f).

The dimensions of the gates of three **papāḫu** (to Šamaš, Aya, and Bunene) are given as being between 16-18 cubits high. The **bāb papāḫi ša Aya** (l. 10) is a lower height than the **bābu ša bīt Aya** (l. 17), suggesting that the god's **papāḫu** is not the same as his **bīt**.

2. Akkadian Rituals from the temple of Anu in Uruk (Thureau-Dangin):

AO 6451 line 12 (p. 76): Refers to a gold libation vessel from the **bīt papāḫi** of Anu. (Nabopolassar).

line 31: 12 **ṣib-tum maḥar šú-bat 'A-ni u ili bīti ša bīt pa-pa-ḫa An-tum** = 12 loaves before the seat/dwelling of Anu and the god of the house of the **papāḫu** of Antum.

line 32: 16 **ṣib-tum maḥar ziq-qur-rat ù ili bīti** [CAD reads as **bīt ili**] **ša ziq-qur-rat 16 ṣib-tum maḥar a-ḫa-nu ša pa-pā-ḫa Anu u An-tum** = 16 loaves for the temple tower and the sanctuary on the temple tower, 16 loaves for the wings(?) of the **papāḫu** of Anu and Antu (cf. **aḫānu B** in **CAD A₁** p. 169).

AO 6459 line 11 (p. 89): Refers to the entering (**a-ri-bi**) of two gods into the **papāḫu**.

VAT 7849: The ritual of the Nisan **akītu**-festival. One group of gods stands to the left of the gate of the **papāḫu ina tēḫi** ^d**Adad** and another group of gods stand on the right side. The king goes into the **papāḫu** of Antum and prostrates himself (lines I 10-14, p. 100). After the procession (line IV 10f), ^d**Pap-sukkal** and the king take the hand of Anu and seat him in his **papāḫu**. Other gods are seated around him, but ^d**Pap-sukkal** himself stands in the gate of the **papāḫu**.

p. 115: gods are "seated" (**uššab**) in their **papāḫu**.

p. 140: the **papāḫu** has a door, and a **kisallu** (courtyard).

3. **RA 20** (1923) p. 107 Uruk, Seleucid year 61.

[**k**]i-[**m**]a **ša** ^d**A-num** **ištu é-nam-en-na bīt pa-pa-ḫa**
it-ta-ša-a

while Anum is out of the Enamenna, the **bīt papāḫa** ...

4. **ABAW nf 34**, San Nicolò, Babylonische Rechtsurkunden text
36 (**UET IV 23**). Ur, 700-650 BC.

[**tup-pi i**]siq ¹⁶**bappitu-ú-tu**

[**ša bīt pa**]-**pa-ḫi** ^d**nin-a-zu šá qé-reb É(!).GÍD.DA**

of the **papāḫu** of Ninazu, which is inside Egidda.

5. Borger, Asarhaddon inscription (AfO bei 9) Uruk B, p. 76, 11:

É-nir-gál-an-na bīt pa-pa-ḥi ʾIš-tar bēlti-ya ša
qé-reb É-an-na

Enirgalanna, the **papāḥu** of Ištar my lady in the midst of Eanna... This shrine, built by an earlier king, Asarhaddon restored using fired brick. The context refers to the shrine as her dwelling, as does line 5: **a-ši-bat É-nir-gál-an-na ša qé-reb É-an-na**, "she who dwells in Enirgalanna in the midst of Eanna" (epithet of Ištar).

6. *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955) p. 106, lines 149-151:

ṭup-šin-na e-pu-uš-ka narâ áš-ṭur-ka

I have made for thee an ivory(?) tablet and inscribed a stele for thee,

ina Kutī^{ki} ina É-mes-lam / i-na pa-paḥ ʾNergal e-zi-bak-ka

and in Cuthah, in E-meslam, / in the shrine of Nergal I have deposited it for three.

7. WVD OG 59 54:25ff

[bi-ta]-a-ti u 6 pa-pa-ḥa-a-ni šá nu-ḥar MU-NE bīt
šadī pa-paḥ ʾ[]

The houses and 6 shrines of the chapel on top of the ziggurat are as follows: The eastern house with the shrine of {god XX} is 60+[] in length, 40 in width.

Edge to edge¹ the shrines of Nabû and Tašmetu are 45 in length, 40 in width. The two north houses of Ea and Nusku -- the house of Ea is 85 in length, 30 in width, the house of Nusku is 35 in length and 35 in width. The south house is for Anu and Enlil and is 70 in length and 30 in width. The west twin building and the staircase behind it, facing the bedroom is 125 in length, 30 in width; in front of the house is 100 in length, 20 in width; the staircase corresponds to these [measurements of the bedroom]² in length, and is 35 in width. The courtyard is 100 in length and 65 in width, it is roofed and surrounded with bars(?).³ The bed is 9 cubits in length and 4 in width; the bed and throne are face to face, a second bed is placed in the courtyard. The door of sunrise is south, the door of sunset is north.

The text details explicitly only 3 of the 6 total **papāhu** on the top of the ziggurat.

8. Omens: **CT 40** 15, lines 10-14:

- 10) If a white fungus occurs on the entrance of the sanctuary in the man's house
- 11) If a white fungus occurs in the **bīt da-ḫi-a**
variant: **da-ḫa-a**.

¹ **CAD K** s.v. **kannu B e2'**, p. 157.

² **CAD S** p. 275; **CAD E** p. 318.

³ **CAD S** p. 256 1a.

- 12) If a white fungus occurs in the **bīt pa-paḥ**
- 13) If a white fungus is on the right of the **bīt pa-paḥ**
- 14) If a white fungus is on the left of the **bīt pa-paḥ**
- 15) If a white fungus is in the **bīt iṣ-[pi-]ki** ("house of jars")

From the context this seems to refer to a "house chapel" or "family shrine". I could not find another reference to the **bīt da-ḥi-a** to determine its relation to the **papāḥu**.

9. Nabonidus inscription 6 (Langdon NBK p. 252ff):

This text commemorates the rebuilding of the Ebarra, the temple of Šamaš in Sippar. It notes that Nebuchadnezzar had attempted to rebuild it but could not find the foundation deposits. After prayer, Nabonidus calls together his advisers and wise men, and commands them to: **te-me-en la-bi-ri šī-te'-ma / pa-pa-ḥu** 'Šamši **da-a-a-nu na-pa-li-sa-ma bīta dārâ a-na** 'Šamaš **u** 'A-a **bēlī-MEŠ-a ip-pu-uš** "Look for the old foundation deposit! Regard/Discover the shrine of Šamaš and build an eternal temple for Šamaš and Aya, my lords." They return with: **ap-pa-lis-ma te-me-en la-bi-ri ša na-ram-'Sîn ul-lu pa-pa-ḥi** 'Šamši **ka-a-a-nu mu-šab ilu-û-ti-šu** "I found the old foundation deposit of the ancient Naram-Sîn, the permanent shrine of Šamaš, the dwelling of his lordship."

10. Nebuchadnezzar inscription 44 (Langdon, **NBK** p. 204):

dûm mûšab ⁴Nabium EN širim ina Eruggana(?) papāhi
bēlūtīšu ina kupram u agurrim kīma šadī lu erte
"in Eruggana, the cella where he is worshipped as lord,
I firmly established, using bitumen and baked bricks,
(making it) as solid as a rock, the platform where
Nabû, the exalted lord, was to have his throne."⁴

11. Langdon, **NBK** p. 128 iii 57:

tallakti papāha u mālak bīti agur ešmarê dū
parakkê qerbīšu pitiq kaspā . . . namriš ubanni "I
made the corridor (leading) to the papāhu and the
pavement of the shrine glisten beautifully with bricks
(made of cast) ešmarû-silver and the platforms and
adytum⁴ within it with cast silver." Rendered as "the
way to the sanctuary and the access to the temple" in
CAD M₁ p. 158 3.

⁴ **CAD D** p. 166. **CAD** notes that "excavations in Babylon show that **di'u** denotes a solid brick platform that takes up a large section of the cella [**papāhu**]. The term **parakku**, on the other hand, refers to smaller structures upon which a throne could be placed to lift the seat of the king (or deity) above the level of its surroundings." However, Jin Sup Kim, in his Ph.D. thesis *BARAG in Sumerian Literature: A Study of Historical Semantics with Emphasis on its Referent and Cultural Function* (Annenberg Research Institute, 1991), argues that **parakku** is better translated as *adytum* (from the Greek, meaning "not to be entered"), the innermost room of a temple or shrine.

12. Nebuchadnezzar inscription 1 (Langdon, **NBK** p. 72), l.

48:

é-ku-a pa-pa-ḥa ʿenlil ilāni ʿmarduk

"Ekua, the shrine of Enlil, the god(?) of Marduk."

[parallel in **Nbk** 15, p. 126 l. 24-25].

13. Nebuchadnezzar inscription 15 (Langdon, **NBK** p. 126), l.

42-44:

^{giš}erēnī ṣulūlu papāḥāti ʿNabû ḥurāša ušalbiš

"I coated the cedar (beams) of the roof of the shrines
of Nabû with gold" (referring to several locations
in the context).

14. Nebuchadnezzar inscription 9 (Langdon, **NBK** p. 90), l.

29-30:

pa-pa-ḥa šú-ba-at be-lu-ti-šú / ḥurāša na-am-ra-am

šá-al-la-ri-iš lu áš-ta-ak-ka-an

"I covered the [Ekua] shrine, the dwelling of his
lordship, with brilliant gold like plaster."

l. 35-38:

pa-pa-ḥa ʿna-bi-um šá qe-re-eb é-sag-ila / si-ip-

pu-šú ši-ga-ru-šú ù ^{giš}kanakki-šú ḥurāša ú-šá-

al-bi-iš-ma bīti ki-ma ū-um lu ú-na-am-mi-ir

"The shrine of Nabû which is inside Esagila, its
(door)posts, its door bars, and its threshold I
coated with gold. The temple shone like
daylight."

15. Lexical listings.

(e)-šà-si-ga = **papāhu** MSL 6 24, 235f.

16. Non-temple and obscure occurrences.

The following texts appear to refer to the **papāhu** as the room of a house: I. M. Diakonoff et al.,

Assyriological Miscellanies I Copenhagen (1980),

Sumerian Proverb Collection XXIV, by Bendt Alster, p.

37, *The Fowler and his wife*, line 21; Sjöberg, **JCS** 29

(1977) p. 23 (citing CBS 8530 obv. I 13, ROM 721 obv.

14 and obv. 4); "Dialogue 5" 96.

Conclusions:

The **bīt papāhu** is the inner chamber in a temple where the god actually dwells (**ašābu**).⁵ There were several in a temple complex for the various gods, although more than one god could dwell in the **papāhu**.

Although the terms do not appear to occur together, the descriptions of the **papāhu** closely parallel those of the **atmanu**. Perhaps there is some subtle difference in meaning (like that between a condominium and apartment) that alludes us today.

Unfortunately, there are no texts in which the **papāhu** seems to play a role in either divine or human assemblies.

⁵ For floor plans, see L. W. King, **LIH** 2 (1900) 107 = 3:255f; F. Thureau-Dangin, **RTC** 145. [Cited by Levine and Hallo, **HUCA** 38 (1967), p. 57.]

Appendix D.

buršumu texts.

1. Sumerian sources:

1.1 Lugalbanda Epic I.

247) gaba-u₄-da-zu zulumḥ i-kù-gin, ša-mu₄-mu₄

248) é-ur₅-ra túg-siki-babbar bar-ba im-dul

249) ab-ba-ab-ba gú-tuku-gin,

250) bur-šu(-ma)-e-ne gaba-u₄-da-zu

251) a-àr u₄-ul-lí-a-aš šī-im-du₁₀-du₁₀-ge-ne

252) gaba-u₄-da-zu i-gin, rib-ba-àm

253) am-gal-gal-e du₁₀ àm-mi-gál

Source: Ms Sol Cohen and Mark Hall, University Museum.

1.2 Inanna and Enki. Tablet II col. iv:

26) [k]ù-dinanna-k[e₄] mu-na-[ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄]

The pure Inanna [answered] him as follows:

27) [g]á-e u₄-da m[á-an-na]

"Today I have the heavenly boat

28) ká-gal nì-ul-la unug_{ki} kul-aba₄^{ki}-šè x []

[brought] to the city gate (named) "joy" at Uruk-Kulaba

29) [sila]-a maḥ ḥu-mu-un-dib-[bé (?)]

on the [street] it should be carefully pulled

30) [x sil]a-a maḥ hé-em-da-su₈-su₈-[ge-eš]

carefully should [...] on the [street] stand by it!

31) [] TUN²-na hé-em-ta'-[]

32) [] ḥúl-la šu-ta []

33) ab-ba-uru šà-kúš-ù []

On the old men of the city [I will bestow] prudence

- 34) **bur-šu-ma ad-g**[i₄-gi₄]
 On the old women [I will bestow] clever advice
- 35) **guruš-e á-**[^{giš}tukul-la]
 On the young men [I will bestow] strength in battle,
- 36) **di₄-di₄**[-lá šà-**húl-la**]
 On the children [I will bestow] joyful hearts.
- 37) **unu**[^{gi}] (next several lines broken)
 Uruk"

Note: Does **buršuma** in line 34 refer to "old women" or to "the assembly" of the city -- as distinct from the "old men" or "elders of the city" mentioned on the previous line?

Source: Gertrud Farber-Flügge. *Der Mythos "Inanna und Enki" unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der me.* **Studia Pohl** 10. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1973.

2. Lexical texts.

2.1 **an-ta-gál** = šaqû. Antagal B 82.

- 5) **AB-BA** a- []
- 6) **GÚ-GAR-RA** za-ru-[]
- 7) **UKKIN^{me-es} MES** pur-šu-[mu]
- 8) **NINDÁ** it-tu-[ú]

Source: Line numbering follows RM 504 in **CT 19** plate 32.

2.2 **malku** = šarru tablet I.

- 113) **he-ru-u** a-bu
- 114) **za-ru-u** "
- 115) **nār-dab-bu** "
- 116) **ki-in-na-nu-u** "

- 117) **it-tu-u** "
- 118) **lú-maḥ-ḥu** *ši-i-bu*
- 119) **pi-iz-nu-qu** "
- 120) **pur-šu-mu** "
- 121) **ki-ib-ru-ú** "
- 122) **ba-an-tu** *um-mu*
- 123) **a-ga-ri-in-nu** "
- 124) **šá-as-su-ri** "

Notes: Compare line 117 here with line 8 of Antagal: **CAD I** lists Antagal B 82 s.v. **ittû B** = "seeding apparatus of the plow." In light of line 117, perhaps it would be better to list Antagal B under **itû B** = "neighbor." Note also that **puršumu** is listed under **šibu**, a masculine term, not under **ummu**, a feminine one.

- 76) **me-me-tum** *ar-d[a]-tum*
- 77) **me-er-tum** "
- 78) **ši-du-ri** "
- 79) **sa-ar-rum** *ši-{i}-bu*
- 80) **šu-gu-ú** "
- 81) **pur-šu-mu** "
- 82) **ša-am-ka-tum** **KAR.KID** (= *ḥarimtu*)
- 83) **ša-mu-uk-tum** "

Source: Kilmer, **JAOS** 83 pp. 426, 434.

2.3 Silbenalphabet A, face D.

- 1') **a.ba**
- 2') **a.ba.ba** *um-m[i*

- 3') **ba.ba** a-a[(?)-um-ma(?)]
 4') **ba.ba.a** pur-šu-ma
 5') **ba.za** ba.an.za
 6') **ba.za(!).za** sal ba.an.za

Source: J. Nougayrol, "Vocalises" et "syllabes en liberté" à Ugarit. AS 16. pp. 29-39.

2.4 VAT 10262.

ab.ba pur-šu-mu

Source: AHW (otherwise unpublished).

3. Neo-Assyrian letters.

3.1 Esarhaddon. K 3500 + K 4444 + K 10235.

- 6) [... qīpu ša ana ?] muḥ-ḥi-ka áš(?)-kun-u-ni xxxx [...]
 ... [the officials whom] I have placed over you
- 7) [...]-ka ¹⁶par-šá-mu-te šá māti-ka ina mil(?)-
 ki(?) [...]
 ... the elders of the land with {advice} ...
- 8) [...]-u-ni ¹⁶qe-e-pu is-si-šú-nu i-[...]
 ... the officials with you ...

Source: Riekele Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*. AfO Bei. 9. Graz: AfO, 1956.

3.2 Nabu-bel-ukin to Sargon(?). 63b. Harper II 168 (rev).

- 12) ú-ma-a šarru be-lí ina muḥḥi

Now let the king my lord to

- 13) ¹Ilu-ya-da-' liš-pur-... ma-ḥir-te

Iluyada send. Let him forward (?)

- 14) **lil-li-ka ù a-na-ku**
come and I
- 15) **al-la-kam-ma ¹⁴par-ša-mu-ti**
will come and the elders
- 16) **i-si-e-a ub-ba-la ¹Upahḫir-Bēl**
I will bring with me. Let Upahhir-Bel
- 17) **lil-li-ka ina bir-tu-un-ni**
come. In our midst
- 18) **lu-ka-a-a-in ana a-ha-a-a-iš**
let him place him. Together
- 19) **ni-id-bu-ub {šarru} lip-ru-uš**
we shall speak. Let the king decide
- 20) **ina bir-tu-un-ni ...**
between us.

Notes: Several cities are mentioned in the context of this dispute. One presumes that the elders are associated with one or more of the cities in question.

Source: Harper, **ABL** 168. Leroy Waterman, **Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire I**. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1930. New York: Johnson Reprint, 1972.

4. Other occurrences.

1. **par-šu-mu** appears phonetically in the sense of "old man" in the following texts: **ABL** 9, 15; **ABL** 3, Rs. 3; **AOAT** 1, 57 Edge 1. The plural ¹⁴**par-š-mu-te** appears in the sense of "old men" in **ABL** 2, 16. There is no assembly or eldership sense apparent in these contexts.

2. In **AHW** von Soden translates NeoAssyrian ¹⁶**AB.BA** as *puršumu*, **AB.BA** as *šību*, and **NAM.AB.BA** as *šībūtu*. The following texts he then lists under *puršumu*: **ABL** 91, 13; **ABL** 377, 16; **ABL** 1044, 11; **Iraq** 20 p. 188, ll. 34, 38, 43 (see discussion by K. Deller in **Or NS** 34, p. 262, 274). While there is no dispute that the logogram ¹⁶**AB.BA**¹⁶ should be rendered as "elders" (of the city, of the land, etc.), I feel that the precise Akkadian term to use is ambiguous (*šībūtu*, the plural of *šību*, is another possibility).

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